THE CHINESE PEOPLE

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THE CHINESE PEOPLE

A HANDBOOK ON CHINA

[With Maps and Illustrations]

BY THE
VENERABLE ARTHUR EVANS MOULE, D.D.
MISSIONARY TO THE CHINESE FROM 1861
FORMERLY ARCHDEACON IN MID-CHINA
RECTOR OF BURWARTON WITH CLEOBURY NORTH
AUTHOR OF
"NEW CHINA AND OLD," "HALF A CENTURY IN CHINA," ETC.

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1914

DEDICATED

TO THE

BLESSED MEMORY OF

GEORGE EVANS MOULE, D.D.

MISSIONARY TO THE CHINESE FROM 1857

BISHOP IN MID-CHINA, 1880–1907

PREFACE

THIS Handbook is intended to furnish students—particularly students of Foreign Missions—with a repertory of information on things Chinese, and to form an introduction to wider study. The bibliographical lists appended to the volume will provide guidance to those readers who wish to extend further their researches into any of the subjects here discussed.

The materials supplied in the following chapters have been collected and arranged from various sources, supplemented by the writer's own information and reflections, which are based on the knowledge and experience gained during his residence in Mid-China, as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, since 1861.

And here the writer wishes to record his sense of the great advantage which would have accrued had he been able, in compiling this Handbook, to avail himself of the wide and deep scholarship and the yet longer experience of his brother, the late Bishop G. E. Moule, of Mid-China, his exemplar and leader for half a century, to whose memory he dedicates the book. Yet he has not been wholly deprived of that source of information, for he has received invaluable help from the Bishop's youngest son, the Rev. A. C. Moule, who possesses the advantages not only of his birth in China and of a childhood spent

in a Chinese home (conveying a sense of the very atmosphere and genius of the land), but also of some years residence in North China as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Moule has contributed to the writer's resources digests of the writings of some eminent modern Chinese scholars, and has supplied notes embodying the results of his own studies and observations.

Special thanks are due to Monsieur A. Vissière, Professor in L'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes at Paris, who has very kindly revised the bibliography and added a note on Chinese reading, to which his wide experience as a student and teacher of Chinese must give exceptional value. It is not the intention of the bibliography to include the names of untranslated Chinese books, although, of course, for those who can read them, Chinese books are incomparably the best authorities for many of the subjects dealt with in the following chapters, or to name books for use in the study of the Chinese language. There are, however (if this little book should fall into the hands of any who are learning Chinese), many books which will be found of more or less assistance in learning the spoken language, and some which deal with reading and writing, such as those by Baller, Bullock, Hillier, Hirth, Mateer, Morgan, Prémare, Vissière, Wade, Zottoli, and several others. Dr. Legge once said that he had been learning to read Chinese for fifty-seven years, and was learning still. But while that must continue to be the experience of all who persevere so long, it is hoped that the note which

M. Vissière has written will lead many beginners to find Chinese reading, as Dr. Legge assuredly found it, a possible and delightful task in far less time than fifty-seven months.

Thanks are due also to the writer's sons for very great help in copying his manuscript and revising the proofs ; to his sister-in-law, Mrs. H. J. Moule, for the loan of the original of Plate IV. ; to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce paintings, etc., in their collections for Plates I., VI., VII., IX., X., XIV. and XVI. ; and to Mr. Laurence Binyon for advice in connection with the same ; to M. Ed. Chavannes for leave to produce Plate II. ; and, lastly, to Mr. L. C. Hopkins for his great courtesy in having the photograph for Plate VIII. specially taken from a specimen in his famous collection of ancient inscribed bones.

It only remains to add that Chinese names and words are spelt throughout the book in what is known as Wade's system, excepting only names of places which have acquired a well-established English form in some other system, such as Pekin, Tientsin, Hankow, Soochow, Foochow, Canton, Hongkong, and Fukien, Kiangsi, Chekiang, etc., which the reader might fail to recognise if they appeared as Pei-ching, T'ien-ching, Han-k'ou, Su-chou, Fu-chou, Kuang-chou, Hsiang-chiang, and Fu-chien, Chiang-hsi, Chê-chiang, etc The latter spellings, however, are used in the maps recently published by the Ordnance Survey Department in London and in the map which is inserted at the end of this volume.

A ROUGH GUIDE TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF CHINESE WORDS AND NAMES.

a as *a* in *father*.
e as *e* in *men* (or as *a* in *man*).
ê as *e* in *her* (slightly shorter before *n*).
ei as *ei* in *feign*.
i as *i* in *marine*.
ih like the first vowel in *sugar*, slightly prolonged ; or French *eu*.
o as *o* in *for*.
ou as *ou* in *though*.
u as *u* in *lute* (shorter before *ng*).
uei, *ui* } as *wei* in *weight*.
ai as *a-i* above.
ao as *a-u* above.
ch as *ch* in *change* (before *i*, something between *ch* and *ts*).
f, *h*, as in English.
j as guttural *r*.
k as in English, unemphatic.
l, *m*, *n*, as in English.
p as in English, unemphatic.
s as in English.
t as in English, unemphatic.
w, *y*, as in English.
ch', *k'*, *p'*, *t'*, as above, but with strong aspirate and emphasis.
hs does not always differ greatly from *sh*.

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乙貞甲
？寅
十于卜
月祖家

"On the day *chia-yin* made inquiry as to a dwelling house. Divined ? to [or from] ancestor *I*. Tenth moon."

Notice below the inscription the cracks made by heat, by means of which the divination was done.

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Photograph by Alexander & Co. - - - - - *Facing p.* 406

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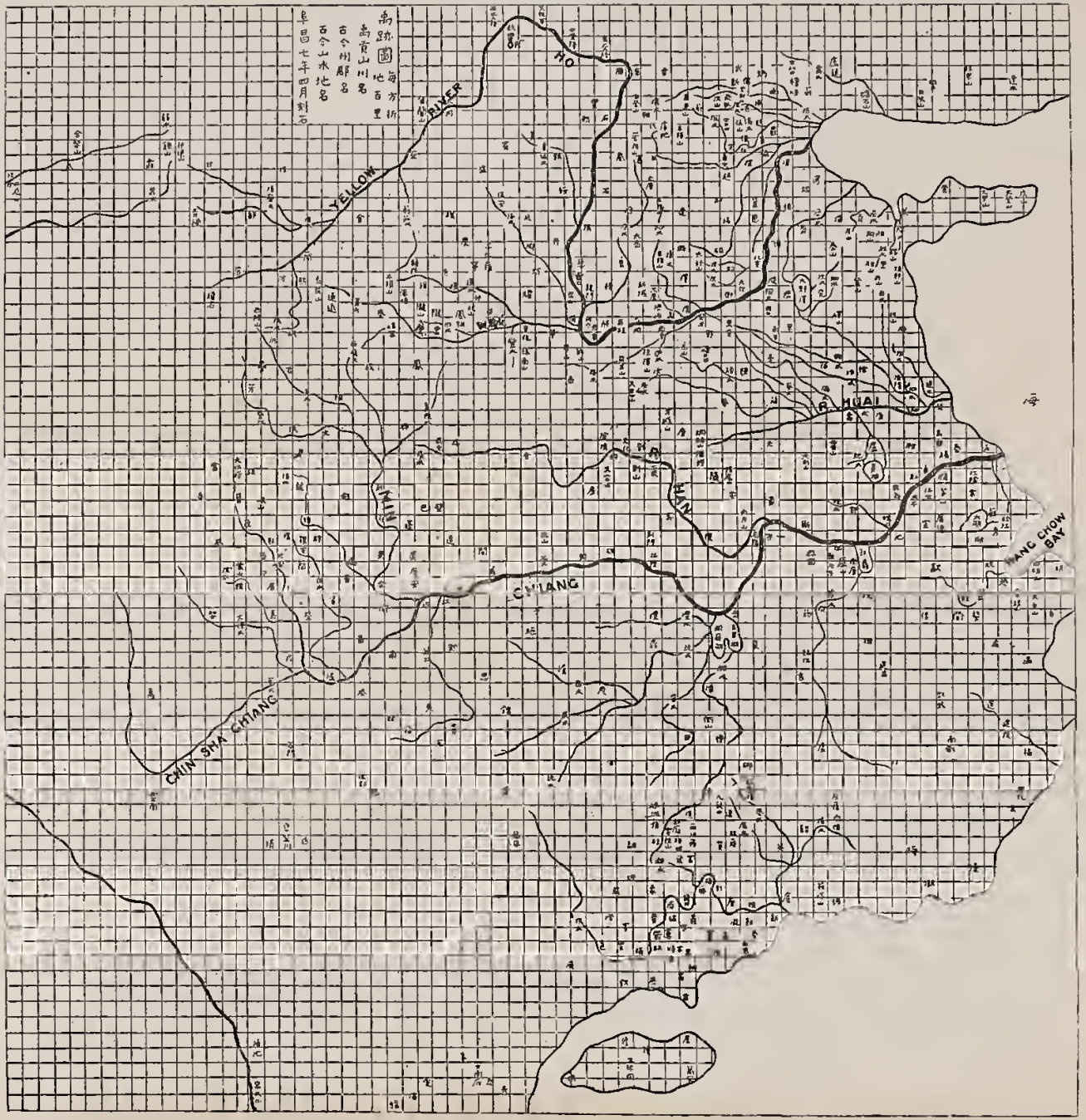


II. ANCIENT MAP OF CHINA *To face p. 15.*

THE CHINESE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

Physical Features and Means of Communication

China lies to the east of the great mountains of Central Asia, and from these her physical features, mountains and rivers, are derived. Speaking generally, quite three-quarters of the country lies at 1,500 feet or more above the sea. The only parts which are below this level are the great north-eastern plain and the lower portions of the large river basins. Mountains, of which some peaks reach a height of nearly 20,000 feet, occupy the whole of the extreme west, but further east they are divided by the river system of middle China, the larger division running from south-west to north-east across the north-western provinces, with branches running in a south-easterly direction between the Chiang and the river Han, and between the rivers Han and Wei, and reaching the sea at Shan-hai-kuan; while the lower ranges of the other division are evenly distributed over the southern half of the country. Outside this great connected system are a range of hills along the coast of Fukien and southern Chekiang, and the mountains of Shantung.

The mountains are as yet not perfectly surveyed or explored, but there is no doubt that they not only are

of extreme interest to naturalists, but also are rich in minerals. Gold and silver have not been found in great quantities, but copper appears to be plentiful in the south-west, and has been used from the earliest ages. Iron is widely distributed, and coal-fields of such enormous extent exist that it is said that a very small part of them would supply the world's utmost imaginable need for many centuries to come. The Chinese have known the use of coal for 2,000 years or more,* but have worked it for the most part only where it crops up on the surface. There is said, however, to be an old mine near Po-shan, in Shantung, with a gallery of seven or eight miles in length. Coal-mining with western machinery and methods has been carried on since the end of last century, with the special licence of the Government, in various parts of northern China, especially in the provinces of Chihli and Shansi.

After this very brief glance at the general disposition of the physical features of the country, we propose to devote the greater part of this chapter to the rivers of China, and other means of communication; and such a special and preponderating notice may be justified by the estimate which the Chinese themselves form of their great inner waters. You must know, they say, that if our rivers are our woe they are also our wealth and gain.

The source of the Ho, or Yellow River, was for centuries as great a mystery for the East as the source

*The first licence to dig coal was granted to Newcastle, we believe, in the year 1268 or 1269, and coal was evidently quite unknown at home to Marco Polo, who left Italy for China about that time.

of the Nile was for the West. In the *Yü-kung* it is made to rise in Mount Chi-shih, in Kansu. In books of the Ch'in dynasty it was said to rise in Kun-lun, but the real position of this mountain was quite unknown. After the embassy of Chang Ch'ien to the West, in B.C. 128, we find the theory that the Tarim, or River of Khotan, which fell then into Lop-nor, ran underground from that point to reappear at the Chi-shih Pass as the Ho, and the mountains in which that river rises were consequently named Kun-lun. It is said that in the higher parts of Kansu the stream, which is already 200 yards wide, is sometimes actually lost to view beneath the boulders which fill its bed. We find no more certain information until A.D. 635, when Hou Chün-chi "reached the shores of the Po-hai (Djaring-nor) and saw in the distance Mount Bayan-khara and the sources of the Ho." The discovery of the actual source is, however, generally attributed to Liu Yüan-ting, in A.D. 822; and, even so, the course of the river as it runs north in a double curve from Djaring-nor, 120 miles east of the source, to the point where it enters Kansu south-east of Kuku-nor, was not accurately known until the end of the thirteenth century.

As the river enters Kansu it is about 8,000 feet above sea-level, and drops 5,000 feet in its north-easterly passage across the province. Though it is here scarcely navigable, two of the very few important cities on its banks are in this province, namely Lan-chou and Ning-hsia; the latter, on the north-east frontier of the province, where regular navigation begins, exports a

considerable quantity of liquorice down the river. From Kansu the Ho runs north to the high land of Mongolia, where its course is changed to almost due east. For ages this reach formed the boundary between China and the barbarous tribes of the north; but in the eighth century the Chinese established four military posts in the enemy's territory on the north bank of the river. Later, on the other hand, the whole course of the Ho was outside the dominion of the Chinese emperors for many years. At Ho-k'ou, south-west of Kuei-hua-ch'êng, the river turns sharply to the south and pursues a direction a little west of south for about 480 miles, until it is joined, near T'ung-kuan, by the River Wei and turns even more sharply to the east. This part of the river was hardly known to Europeans until 1906, when it was surveyed by Major McAndrew, who thus describes it:

"The scenery down the Yellow River from Ho-k'ou to Yü-mên-k'ou, and again below T'ung-kuan-t'ing, is very fine in places, but also monotonous. The hills are all bare, of uniform height, and topped with a smooth cap of loess. The cliffs that line the river are all about the same height, and of the same reddish-grey sandstone. There are, however, a few spots that are well worth a visit. One of these is the Lung-wang waterfall [at Hu-k'ou, 250 miles south of Pao-tê]. Above the fall the river is about 200 yards wide, and the channel is broken up by rocky ledges. The bulk of the water, a tumbling mass of a tawny orange colour, flecked with foam, plunges into a narrow crack in its bed near the

Shensi shore. The depth of the fall is about 40 feet, but the bottom is a seething cauldron which cannot properly be seen owing to the clouds of spray that rise from it. The remainder of the water falls into the same fissure at right angles to the main fall in a series of cascades 500 yards long. This is a region of wonders and paradoxes. There is a spot some distance below the fall where, standing on the roadway by the river-bank and looking up-stream, one sees a cloud of blue smoke rising from the middle of the water without apparent cause, while at one's feet the whole volume of a great river rushes for three miles down a narrow fissure in places not more than 15 yards, and nowhere more than 40 yards, wide. One can, I say, stand and see, but one cannot in June (the time of our visit) conveniently sit on the rocks by the side of the roadway, because they have been baked burning hot by the rays of a powerful sun, and one cannot sit on the roadway itself, because it is a mass of ice 12 feet thick. The presence of this ice in midsummer so far south comes on one as a great surprise. The sun heat in this gorge is intense, and the water of the Yellow River itself 71° Fahr. Yet there are great banks of ice on the rocky ledges at the side of the water. One of these on June 20, was 100 yards long, 5 yards wide, and 12 feet thick. This ice, I believe, generally melts away by the end of July. . . .

"A day's journey below the falls is the famous Lung-mên gorge, ending in the straits of Yü-mên-k'ou. This gorge is about 10 miles long. The river is a deep, still

stream 150 yards wide, and races between precipices of reddish-grey sandstone 800 feet high. Above the precipices the cone-shaped tops of the hills covered with green scrub rise for another 800 feet. At Yü-mên-k'ou the banks contract to 60 yards, and upon each side of the strait there is a fine temple. Coming down-stream, when one's boat rushes through this strait there is a regular transformation scene, the river suddenly leaving the hills and spreading out over a sandy flat to a breadth of 1½ mile."*

At the mouth of the gorge there is a little island wholly occupied by the Shên Yü temple, which contains a monument of great antiquarian interest.

The principal tributary of the Ho is the Wei (or Yü), which joins it just above T'ung-kuan. Rising in Kansu, it flows south-east to Shensi, and crosses that province in a straight line from west to east. The well-watered valley was the birthplace of Chinese civilisation and is full of relics of the past. It has also the reputation of being the most fertile land in China. About nine miles from the river on its right bank, and half-way across the province, stands the great city of Hsi-an.

At the T'ung-kuan bend the Ho is still 1,300 feet above sea-level. At the San-mên rapids, which no boat can ascend, it again enters the hills, to leave them finally at Mêng-ching, a place above Mêng-hsien, in Honan, about 200 miles from T'ung-kuan. Here the great river, running at a pace of from four to six miles an hour, finds itself on the level plain, with still 400

The Geographical Journal, 1907, pp. 194, 195.

miles to cross before it can reach the sea; and, though alterations in the higher reaches are recorded, it is naturally in this last level part that those disastrous floods and changes of course have occurred which have won for the river its evil reputation. If there are cities along its banks it is because the river has come to them against their will; and a story is told by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien of a great lord who had property near the river. One year the river was good enough to take another course, and this man, finding the value of his land greatly enhanced in consequence, presented a memorial to the Emperor explaining that such catastrophes were undoubtedly the work of heaven, and those who attempted to repair the damage ran a great risk of fighting against heaven. And so his property was left in peace for twenty-three years, until the Emperor went in person to visit the lands along the new course of the river, where the landlords no doubt had a different theory to propound.

The Chinese have in all ages shown great industry and no small ability in dealing with their unruly rivers and with the ravages of the tide along their coasts. Some of their earliest traditions are of the engineering feats of Yü, who worked, as his successors have worked ever since, to lessen the chance of flood, not only by strengthening the banks of the rivers, but by drawing off the surplus water and using it for irrigation. From dealing with huge breaches of the Ho, or with the violence of the Hangchow Bore, down to giving a little town like T'ai-an a constant supply of fresh water,

nothing has been too great or too small for China's engineers. It is well known that the Yellow River, like other rivers in the great plain, flows high above the level of the surrounding land. The late G. J. Morrison, of Shanghai, once took levels across the dry bed of the river in North Kiangsu, and found the lowest point of the bed four or five feet above the plain. When the high banks run, as they sometimes do, across the mouth of a valley, they cause floods by preventing the local water from running away after the summer rains.

When we first hear of the Ho (B.C. 800, or earlier) it left its present course just east of Huai-ch'ing and passed northward west of Ta-ming into the swamps of Ta-lu ; thence it divided into the " nine rivers," which met together again, as a network of streams do to-day, near Tientsin, and flowed eastward to the sea. In 602 B.C. a change took place in the arrangement of the nine rivers, the main channel moving from the west to what is now the Grand Canal on the east. In 132 B.C. the river burst its right bank in what is now the extreme south of Chihli and flowed into the valley of the Huai, a great river which now runs through the Hung-tsê and Kao-yu Lakes into the Grand Canal in Kiangsu. This breach was repaired in B.C. 109. In A.D. 11 the main stream moved still further east, and occupied the bed of the Chi, running, as it does now, through north-west Shantung. This was still its course in the eleventh century. In the fourteenth century it seems to have been flowing into the Huai, and the *Yüan Shih* gives an account of the means taken to repair a great breach

which was made in the left bank in 1344. In the sixteenth century its bed lay through north Kiangsu, between the Huai and the Grand Canal, which last it crossed north of Huai-an. In 1851 the left bank burst to the north-east of K'ai-fêng, and after three years of indecision and destruction the stream returned to the valley of the Chi. In 1888 it again tried to flow southward, causing most disastrous floods, but, after European engineers had been appealed to in vain, native methods prevailed, and the breach was securely closed. An examination of the dry bed in Kiangsu shows in the western part nothing but loose sand, while nearer the sea there is a firm and very fertile alluvial deposit. It is this firm silting-up of the mouth that is thought by some to be the chief cause of the constant more or less serious bursting of the banks.

The above are only a very few of the changes of bed and of the great floods which are recorded in history; and it has been possible to give only a very meagre idea of the canals and other works which have been carried out. either to use the water for irrigation, or to lessen the strain on the banks, or to avoid the danger of navigating the rapids.

The Chiang, that is, the River, is one of the largest and best known rivers in the world. It is called also the Great River, or the Long River, and, for the most part by Europeans, the Blue River, or the Yang-tse (Yang-tzŭ). It rises, as we have it on the authority of Confucius, in the Min mountains in the extreme north-west corner of Ssŭch'uan, and flows south-east past

Ch'êng-tu until it is joined at Hsü-chou by the Chin-sha-chiang, a tributary so much larger than the Min stream that it is often regarded as the main stream by Europeans. The Chin-sha rises some distance north-west of the source of the Ho, and flows southwards through Tibet into Yünnan. On the borders of Yünnan and Ssŭ-ch'uan it receives a large tributary, the Ya-lung, from the north, and then flows north-east to meet the Min. Between this point and I-ch'ang are the rapids and gorges so famous for their magnificent scenery and for the difficulty and danger of their navigation. From I-ch'ang to the sea, a distance of a thousand miles, the river is navigable by small steamers, and sea-going vessels come up 600 miles to Hankow. It must be enough to name here a very few of the many large cities which have grown up on the river banks, such as Wu-ch'ang (which, with Han-yang and the foreign settlement of Hankow on the opposite bank, forms the centre, in several respects, of China) and Nankin, the seat until lately of one of the most powerful viceroys, and many centuries ago the capital for a time of the empire, and Chinkiang, at the busy junction with the Grand Canal. The river flows through the famous silk district of Ching-chou and the porcelain manufactories of Kiangsi; and the traffic, both of native boats and of steamers, is in all parts very great. The chief of the many tributaries are the Han—which flows in from the north-west opposite Wu-ch'ang, dividing Han-yang from Hankow—and the important streams which enter through the Tung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes. The

water is muddy, though less so than that of the Ho, and when seen in the distance on a sunny day is of a most unusual and beautiful rose-colour; and the shores are lined for miles with grey reed-beds of almost inconceivable extent. The river is generally deep, some places near Nankin being marked "No bottom" on the earlier British charts; but there is a bar near the mouth which is a considerable hindrance to navigation. The level of the water, too, varies greatly, rising nearly fifty feet in the summer at Hankow, and as much as a hundred feet in the gorges in an exceptional year. Any unusual addition to this enormous rise naturally floods vast tracts of country on either side of the river, but, for many centuries at any rate, the Chiang has not been liable to those sudden changes of course which make the Ho so dangerous. Yet it seems to be certain that the present stream was, eighteen centuries ago, only one, and not the largest, of three channels through which the waters of the Chiang reached the sea. The conclusion of Yüan Yüan, the learned antiquary of the early nineteenth century, on this subject is as follows:

"The Chiang rises in the Min mountain. The three rivers of the *Yü-kung* are the Pei-chiang (N. river), the Chung-chiang (middle river) and the Nan-chiang (S. river). The Pei-chiang is the River Min proceeding north of Nankin, Chinkiang, Tan-t'u, and Ch'ang-chou to the sea, and is the same as the modern Chiang. The Chung-chiang is the River Min proceeding by Kao-ch'un and Wu-pa to I-hsing, where it entered the sea.

The Nan-chiang is the Min proceeding from Ch'ih-chou (*i.e.*, probably near Wu-hu) by Ning-kuo to the T'ai-hu. Thence it passed Wu-chiang and T'ang-hsi in a south-westerly direction to (the site of) Hangchow, where it bent to the eastward towards Yü-yao, and there met the sea."*

The stream which now flows into the Hangchow Bay had a course ten miles south of its present one in the thirteenth century, and the Chê, as the south branch of the Chiang seems to have been called, may well have run yet further to the south again.

Just south of the mouth of the Chiang is the Hangchow Bay, into which flows a river which, though it is of great beauty and considerable size, and has on its banks many important towns besides Hangchow, would perhaps hardly deserve more than mention here if it were not for the bore with which the tides come not only into the estuary but far up the river itself. The river was anciently called Chien, and was perhaps a tributary of the southern and principal branch of the Chiang which until comparatively recent days entered the sea in or near the Hangchow Bay, as has been explained above. It was also called Chê and the Ch'ien-t'ang River ; and Ch'ien-t'ang, the name of a district past which it flows, is now practically the name of the river for natives as well as for Europeans.

The bore is one of the most striking of the world's unusual natural phenomena. Twice a day it fills the country with its voice as it passes like some living thing

*Cf. *Chê-chiang t'u-k'ao.*

majestically upward against the stream. The exact reason why there should be a bore in this river and not in others, or why it should be regular here and persistent through great changes of the course and volume of the stream, and only occasional elsewhere,* seems to have eluded the most learned investigation; but it must be due to some special application of the laws that the pace at which a wave travels in shallow water varies with the depth of the water, and that the front slope of a wave grows steeper as it passes from deeper to more shallow water. Captain Moore, R.N., who examined the whole question very carefully, suggests the following causes: (1) The funnel or delta shape of the Hangchow Bay, which is open to the eastward directly in front of the tidal wave from the Pacific Ocean. It is fifty or sixty miles wide at the mouth, about ten miles at the narrower part where navigation ends, and the general depth is much greater across the mouth than it is on the western part. (2) The large area of sand-flats at the head of the bay. (3) The out-going stream from the river. It will be seen that the front of the tide wave must suddenly grow steeper and is nearly stopped as it reaches the shallow water on the sand-flats, while the parts further back are travelling at only slightly diminished speed, and the water is thus suddenly piled up and advances with an ever steeper and at last nearly perpendicular front—"a bank of water and precipice of snow." The bore is not a wave, but the front of

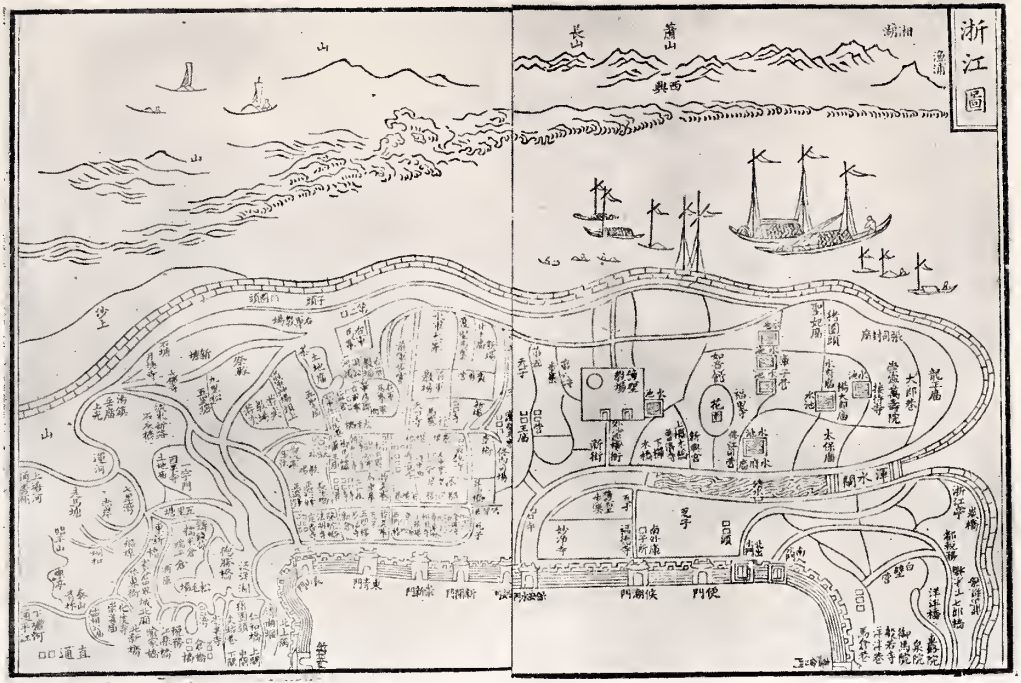
*A small bore may sometimes be seen as the tide enters the narrow mouth of Chefoo harbour and elsewhere. The eagre, or bore, on the Severn is only occasionally to be seen.

a mass of water which is poured, as it were, into the river from the pent-up tidal wave in the bay outside. The stream is running out with a roar that may be heard half-a-mile away, and the water is at its lowest level when the bore arrives. The delay in the arrival of the tide here as compared with other places is noticed in the *Lin-an Chih*, a topography of Hangchow published about A.D. 1274, where also the sand-flats and the sudden narrowing of the estuary are mentioned as causes of the bore. The same book gives tables of the time when the bore comes on each day of the year, and careful information about the relation of the tides to the movements of the sun and moon.

The origin of the bore is connected in legend with the death of Wu Tzŭ-hsü, in B.C. 484. This man was ordered by the king, Fu-ch'ai, to commit suicide, and before doing so foretold the ruin of his country, and gave directions that his eyes should be hung over the east gate of Wu (perhaps Soochow) that he might see the invaders come. The king was so much incensed on hearing this that he had Wu's corpse put into a leather sack and thrown into the Chiang. The story of Wu's death is told with more or less detail in the *Tso Chuan* and in the *Shih Chi* (B.C. 90), but is first connected with the bore a century or more later. By the tenth century we read :

"From that time the tide-head at Tide-gate Hill* came hurtling up several hundred feet high, over-leaping

*Probably the hills K'an and Chê, often called the Sea-gate, between which the stream once flowed, though it has now left them far to the south.



III.—THE BORE ON THE CH'IEN-T'ANG RIVER

[*To face p.* 28.

the sea-wall and passing Yü-p'u ; after which it gradually subsided. Whenever it came again at dawn and dusk it had a wrathful sound and the swift rush of thunder and lightning, and could be heard more than 30 miles off. Then might be seen in the midst of the tide-head Tzŭ-hsü sitting in a funeral car drawn by white horses."

As a rule the spring tide bore forms in two sections (which join before reaching Hai-ning) at a point a few miles east of Chien-shan, sixteen miles east of Hai-ning— " at Tsuan-fêng-t'ing, on the south bank, and at Chien-shan, on the north bank, the tide rises up with waves of silver and billows of snow " is the native statement— and travels, at a speed at first of about fifteen miles an hour, a distance of from forty-five to sixty miles up the river. At neap tide it does not reach Hangchow, lasting as a rule not more than twenty-five or thirty miles ; yet in a great gale a good bore was seen above Hangchow on June 23rd, 1903, the twenty-eighth day of the moon. The greatest height measured by Captain Moore at Hai-ning was ten or eleven feet, and he thought it unlikely that it could ever exceed fifteen or sixteen feet. High water is reached soon after the bore has passed,* and then the stream begins to flow out again at once.

The navigation of the river is extremely difficult and dangerous. A considerable fleet of boats, for the most part carrying fish and salt, goes up to Hangchow on the

*The height of the bore is about half of the flood range or total rise of the tide ; a 10-foot bore means a rise of 20 feet from low water to high water.

flood tide rapidly enough, but it is when they want to come down again that the difficulty begins. Few boats will dare to meet a large bore, and if they do ride over it safely they are only carried back again to the place from which they started. They are therefore compelled to make use of the shelters which are provided at several points along the embankment. These consist of broad shelves secured by rows of piles, some feet above the mean level of the water, and protected by a bastion, which serves to deflect the force of the bore when it comes. Boats are obliged to moor in these shelters not more than two hours after high water, and as the water falls they are stranded safe above the reach of the bore on one of the shelves, and lie there for eight or nine hours until the next bore passes and the water rising behind it sets them afloat again. The largest and most elaborate of these boat shelters is at the little town of Hai-ning.

The embankments are very massive walls of earth faced with stone and protected with fascines and piles. They extend, with some intervals, from a point many miles above Hangchow to the mouth of the Chiang on the north, and to Ningpo on the south. An embankment seems to be first mentioned in the Han dynasty, and since then extensions and repairs have been carried on continually up to the present day. The value of these embankments, which are kept up at a great cost, is shown by the fact that the land at Hai-ning is from two to six feet below the highest level of the water. For a great distance along the south shore, however, the

bank is now left high and dry, the stream having grown much narrower and kept principally to the northern channel in the last four or five centuries.

Professor G. H. Darwin considered that it was unlikely that the enormous power of the bore (about 1,750,000 tons of water pass Hai-ning in a minute) could be profitably used for any commercial purpose, and it is pleasant to think that this "voice of days of old and days to be" may run its course for ever with nothing to hamper its tremendous liberty.

The largest of the remaining rivers in China proper is the Pearl River, in Kuangtung, the north arm of a delta formed by the meeting and crossing of three great streams; the East River, coming down from south Kiangsi; the North River, which rises near the Mei-ling —the famous pass between the waterways of Kuangtung and Kiangsi—and the West River, which rises on the borders of Kueichou and Yünnan and flows eastward through Kuangsi and Kuangtung. These streams, and especially now the West River, are of great importance, flowing through the rich tropical region of China and having many large cities on their banks, of which the best-known, at least to Europeans, is Kuang-chou, or Canton.

There are many other rivers of considerable size both in the north and the south, of which the Liao in Manchuria, the Pai (commonly called Peiho) in Chihli, and the Min, or Fukien River, derive special importance from the great towns Niuchuang, Tientsin, and Foochow situated respectively near their mouths. The Pai was until recently the chief route of communication with

Pekin. The south-western half of Yünnan is watered by the upper parts of the Hung-ho (Red River), the Mekong and the Salween.

The distinction between the two words for river, *chiang* and *ho*, has not been satisfactorily explained. As a rule it is true that south of the Chiang all large rivers are *chiang* and north of it all are *ho*, but the Amur (Hei-lung-chiang) and Ya-lu (Chiang) outside China to the north, and the Hung-ho in the extreme south, are conspicuous exceptions. In books and old maps most even of the largest rivers, except the Chiang and Ho, are called *shui*, or waters. In some regions *chiang* is a large, often tidal, natural stream, and *ho* an artificial canal.

Of all the thousands of miles of canals—and in the vast plains of central and southern China canals are at least as frequent as roads and lanes are in England—the most remarkable is, perhaps, the great waterway known as the Grand Canal. It is called by the Chinese Yü-ho, the Imperial Canal, or Yün-ho, the Transport Canal. Under the year B.C. 486 the *Tso Chuan* says: "In the autumn Wu fortified a place on the river Han, and dug a canal which communicated with the Chiang and Huai." The place is supposed to be Yang-chou, and the canal the first section of the Grand Canal. The *Shih Chi*, speaking of the work of Yü, vaguely says: "Later a great canal was made between the Chiang and the Huai." This part of the canal now runs, mostly between artificial banks, from Ch'ing-chiang-p'u on the old bed of the Ho to enter the Chiang opposite Chinkiang.

On the west is a succession of great lakes, through which the water of the Huai now finds a way into the canal and, through it, to the Chiang; and on the east the land is in places much lower than the level of the canal, and is much subject to floods. The extension of the canal southward from Chinkiang past Ch'ang-chou, Soochow, and Chia-hsing to T'ang-hsi is said to have been done in the seventh century, but the last short stage to Hangchow was not completed until A.D. 1247. South of the Chiang the canal is crossed by many fine stone bridges, but in the northern part bridges are extremely rare. There are no locks throughout the course of the canal, but between Soochow and Chinkiang, and again between Ch'ing-chiang-p'u and Chi-ning, there are a number of weirs, at one of which the water falls as much as two feet. For a great part of its course on both sides of the Chiang the canal follows the natural beds of streams, and the construction of it meant the deepening of existing channels and strengthening of embankments, together with the cutting of some new connections between one stream and another. A great deal of this work was done between Yang-chou and Pekin, a distance of six or seven hundred miles, at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, having been rendered necessary by the fact that central and southern China had for the first time to send tribute of grain to Pekin, by the greatly increased size of the boats used, and by the neglect of repairs during the period of the Mongol conquest. Between Hangchow and T'ang-hsi the banks are faced with stone,

and a good tow-path follows the canal throughout its length of not much less than a thousand miles, excepting a few miles where it crosses a great tract of fenland near Chi-ning. South of the Chiang the tow-path is carried over all the smaller side streams on solid stone bridges. Besides carrying an immense amount of traffic, the canal supports a large population of fishermen, and most of the many ingenious devices known to the Chinese for catching fish may be seen in use in one part or another. The fleet which formerly carried the tribute grain to Pekin is said to have consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 boats, but now the grain is taken to Tientsin by sea and the boats are not used, and the northern parts of the canal are not kept in repair.

The Grand Canal traverses from the southern to near the northern extremity the vast alluvial plain which occupies large parts of the provinces of Chekiang, Kiangsu, Anhui, Honan, Shantung, and Chihli. This land, deposited in the course of ages by the rivers and still rapidly extending, nowhere rises far above sea level, and is, as has been said, very liable to floods. On the coast of Chihli a wide fringe of fifteen or more miles is occupied by marsh and fen land, yielding a valuable harvest of reeds, and indescribably beautiful, with its unbounded fields of brown and gold and scarlet, mixed with whole acres of grey Michaelmas daisies, and deep blue pools reflecting the cloudless autumn sky. Further inland, the plain is wholly under cultivation, excepting, indeed, some regions where a quite perceptible proportion of the land is occupied by cemeteries — the rule in

northern China being for families of any importance to have each a private burying place on some part of their property, planted generally with arbor vitæ, or oaks, or white-stemmed poplar trees. The villages too—low, featureless groups of grey or mud-coloured cottages, relieved sometimes by the fortified refuge tower of a wealthy family, and generally surrounded by a wall—are full of trees, and the density of the population may be judged from the fact that in many parts the plain, viewed from a slight eminence, appears to be an unbroken forest, though there is not a tree, in reality, besides those which surround the abodes of the living or the dead. The crops in the northern part of the plain, or Cathay, north, that is, of the old bed of the Ho, are millet—the graceful panicled millet and the giant sorghum, twelve or fifteen feet in height,—wheat and several other grains, maize, beans, potatoes, peanuts, buckwheat, sesame, and so forth. But, when we cross the dry bed of the Ho, in north Kiangsu, we pass into a different country. On the north side the land is ploughed by oxen, ponies, and donkeys, and the air is full of the chanting of the ploughboys as they turn their teams; on the south flooded paddy fields take the place of peanuts and millet, and the ponies and donkeys are replaced by powerful water buffaloes, working in silence or urged on with unmusical abuse. The southern part of the plain is far more wet than the northern. Lakes of enormous size occupy Kiangsu on either side of the River, the country is covered with a network of artificial waterways, and thousands of square miles

are purposely flooded for the cultivation of rice. South of the river more especially, a great area is planted with mulberry trees, to supply the silk looms of Soochow, Hu-chou and Hangchow, and with orchards of peach, loquat, and other fruit trees. Large quantities of silk are produced, as is well known, in Shantung, but here again the distinction between north and south is clearly marked. Shantung silkworms feed on the large leaves of a kind of oak, which grows on the hills, or on those of mulberries planted by ones and twos about the cottages, and nothing, as a rule, is seen like the groves of neatly planted and carefully pruned and grafted trees of Chekiang or Kiangsu.

The southern plain of which we have been speaking—the delta, then, of the Chiang, and largely occupied with swamps and marshes—formed in ancient days part of the ill-defined region of Yang-chou, and was inhabited by a half-savage but important people outside the pale of civilisation, of whom several notices have been preserved. Thus in the sixth century before Christ, the powerful King Fu-ch'ai, whom we have spoken of above, excused himself from attending some Imperial function on the ground that he was but a tattooed savage. Of the same or an earlier period, we read :

" With the people of Yang-chou, women outnumber the men in the proportion of five to two "—implying, perhaps, the practice of polygamy—" they have domestic birds and animals, and cultivate rice."

And again :

" Their character is fierce and illiterate ; they travel

by water . . . using boats for carriages and oars for horses. They delight in war, and have no fear of death." And, coming to the early days of the Christian era: "The people are fond of the sword, despise death, and are easily roused. They tattoo their bodies and cut off their hair so as to avoid destruction by *chiao-lung* (? alligators). Ying Shao (of the second century) says: 'They are constantly in the water, and so they cut off their hair and tattoo their bodies that they may look like little *lung*, and thus they are free from harm.'" And, in the seventh century: "South of the Chiang . . . they have plenty of fish and rice, and do not suffer from famine. They believe in spirits, and delight in unorthodox sacrifices."*

Later we hear of the general adoption of the Buddhist faith in these regions, and of the intellectual alertness and aptitude for commerce which characterise the people still. With this account of the rude dwellers in the marshland, we may join the primitive use of stone implements, of which a good collection, now in the Museum at Shanghai, has recently been made in Shantung. We are unable to say whether native authors describe a stone age in their own primitive history or that of their less civilised neighbours, but it is, perhaps, significant that of the many words which express the idea of cutting, a few (including one of the commonest, *k'an*), are written with "stone" for the radical or part of the character which indicates the meaning.

* These passages are quoted in the *Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih*, c. II., f. 4.

In one respect the aspect, and with the aspect no doubt the climate, of the more populous parts of China has greatly changed within historical times, and, indeed, within living memory. It is quite certain that the hills were once covered for the most part with trees, but though forestry is well understood and sometimes practised, the absence of government supervision, the prevalence of small properties and common rights, and the rapid increase of population, have combined to bring about the wholesale destruction of the ancient woods. The hills and mountains of Shantung, for example, were covered with forests of pine (an article of tribute), oak, ash, lime, and other trees, and even of bamboo, which is now an exotic found rarely in gardens; but at present it is small exaggeration to say that they are absolutely bare, and it is a sad but very common thing to see the women and girls and little children of the poorer families spending the otherwise idle days of winter in grubbing up the very roots of the wayside grass to supply the want of fuel.

The countless boats and ships of China (called variously *chou*, *ch'uan*, *po*, *hua*, etc.), though of a great many different patterns, conform in the vast majority of instances to one general type, namely that of the punt. That is to say that they are flat-bottomed, the breadth is often greater than the depth, the ends are generally broad and square—though in many cases there is a very near approach to the sharp prow of Western boats—and in many varieties, especially of the sea-going vessels, the stern is high. They are, too, generally house-boats,

covered in, excepting a space of open deck in front and sometimes at the stern also, with stout bamboo matting, boards, or canvas; and they have been for ages divided by bulkheads into watertight compartments. The hulls are generally varnished or painted and often decorated. Those built south of the Ch'ien-t'ang River often have large protruding eyes fixed near the prow, and painted lines, which are, perhaps, meant to represent the gills of a fish. Some, built at Shao-hsing, are elaborately decorated all over with pictures and ornamental patterns, with a carved and painted dragon's head in front. Those in the north are usually quite without ornament, and more rough and clumsy in make, though not less strong. Indeed, boats built for the violent current of the Ho or for the dangerous rapids of the Chiang in the far west are probably the strongest of all, and in different ways specially adapted to their strenuous tasks.

Small open boats are paddled, the house-boats are towed—almost always by men or women (wives and daughters often forming part of the crew), rather than by horses or oxen—or are propelled by sails, or by the *yuloh* (*yao-lu*), a large oar working backwards and forwards on a pin at the back or side of the boat and cutting the water obliquely like the screw propeller, or again by an oar which the boatman sitting in the stern holds and drives with his feet. This last singular method, one of the most rapid known, is applied to the small boats called *chiao hua*, or foot boats, on the canals, and also to much heavier craft on the Ch'ien-t'ang River and perhaps elsewhere. Poles are also much used

for moving boats in shallow water and taking them up rapids.

As is well known, boats are not only used to carry passengers and cargo, or for pleasure, but also as dwellings, and that not only for their crews but for the families of those whose work is closely or even remotely connected with the water. The suburb of boat dwellings at Canton is well known to foreign visitors.

Officials travelling in the course of their duty and guests of the State use boats provided by the Government, and we find a Government post-house at Chinkiang in the fourteenth century maintaining a fleet of thirty boats for such official use. Nowadays official travelling is done, where possible, no doubt, by train. Private boats both for pleasure and travelling are not unknown, but the commoner plan is to hire a boat or part of a boat, or a berth in one of the omnibus boats which are run by the inns at waterside towns. It is on record that 1,250 cash (perhaps 10s.) was paid at Hangchow in the year 1308 for the use of a boat for the afternoon to go a distance of about six miles; but the charges of recent years, before the introduction of steam boats, were more moderate—a pound or less securing a comfortable *Wu-hsi-k'uai* boat for the journey of about 150 miles from Hangchow to Shanghai. The pleasure boats or barges, elaborately decorated and luxuriously furnished for picnics and dinner parties, are, it is to be feared, too often the homes of revelry and vice. In the eastern provinces, those at Canton, Yang-chou, Soochow and, above all, those on the West Lake at Hangchow, are famous; and a con-

temporary author assures us that in the twelfth century the West Lake boats were sometimes as much as 500 feet in length, and able to accommodate more than a hundred guests at once, in addition, presumably, to a large crew and swarms of attendants.

Regular services of steam launches between the principal cities situated on the rivers and canals have been introduced gradually and not without natural opposition since about the year 1890, as will be more fully described below.

The sea-going vessels are called by Europeans *junks*, a word which is said to represent the Javanese *djong*, perhaps the same as the Chinese *ch'uan*. The Chinese call the larger ships, which centuries ago were 200 feet long and able to carry 600 or 700 persons, *po*, and the smaller *ch'uan*, or sometimes vice versa. The fishing fleets must be very large. Ningpo ranks as the second or third fish market of the world, and is famous for having (probably for ages) stored ice in the winter time with which to pack the fish and bring them fresh to market in the tropical heat of the summer. And fishing fleets and some coasting vessels may have existed in very early times, and did in fact exist in the fifth century before Christ; but it must be remembered that the more civilised tribes of ancient China were not a maritime people, and long sea voyages were rarely ventured upon by them before the seventh century, and then only as passengers in foreign vessels from India, Persia, or Arabia. A voyage to Siam, A.D. 607, was evidently considered a great feat, and Hsüan-tsang, the

great Buddhist traveller of about that time, seems to have heard nothing of a sea route between India and Ceylon and China, though his predecessor, Fa-hsien, two centuries before, had returned from India by sea, and by the end of the seventh century the sea route was regularly used by Buddhist pilgrims. Still, the ships were not Chinese but foreign, coming in great part from Quilon to Canton, or Ganfu, as the old Arab writers call it. Later (in the Sung and Yüan dynasties) the foreign trade was to a large extent transferred to Chüan-chou, which is probably the Zaitun of Marco Polo and other writers, in Fukien ; and there, as well as at Shanghai, Kan-p'u, Hangchow, Ningpo, Wên-chou, and Canton, Inspectors of Merchant Shipping were appointed towards the end of the thirteenth century. Though there is some reason to believe that sea-going vessels were built in China perhaps as early as the ninth century, there is very little to show that long voyages were made by Chinese-built and Chinese-manned vessels before the twelfth or thirteenth century. When we come to the fourteenth century, on the other hand, it is expressly stated that the voyage to China was made only in Chinese ships. In spite of the current and oft-repeated belief to the contrary, there is little ground for saying that the Chinese invented the compass, and they certainly do not seem to have applied it to navigation at an early date. It was used (not indeed for the first time) on ships which left Ningpo in 1122, but it does not seem to have become common until later.

Our notice of sea-going vessels, which is derived from Hirth and Rockhill's recent edition of the *Chu-fan-chih*,* may close with some extracts from native authors borrowed from the same work. Fa-hsien, writing early in the fifth century, says :

" The ocean spreads out over a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west ; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather was dark and rainy, the ship went forward as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, emitting a brightness like that of fire ; with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep. The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear they could tell east and west, and the ship again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock there would have been no way of escape." †

This was on the way from Ceylon to Java in a ship conveying more than two hundred persons. Leaving Java in a similar ship they encountered a " black wind " and " the sky continued dark and gloomy and the sailors looked at one another and made mistakes,"

* *Chau Ju-kua : His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries entitled Chu-fan-chï.* St. Petersburg, 1912.

† *Ibid.*, p. 27.

—made so great mistakes that after eighty-two days they reached, not Canton as they had intended, but Laoshan, near Ch'ing-tao (Tsing-tau), on the Shantung promontory.

Passing over seven centuries, we read in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* :

" Ships sail in the eleventh or twelfth moons to avail themselves of the north wind ; and come back in the fifth or sixth moon to avail themselves of the south wind. The ships are squarely built like grain measures. If there is no wind they cannot unship the masts [as is commonly done on the canal and river boats], for these are firmly planted, and the sails hang down on one side —one side close to the mast, around which they move like a door. They have mat sails. These ships are called *chia-t'u*, which is a foreign word [in fact, ' cutter ']. At sea they can use not only a stern wind, but wind off or toward shore can also be used. It is only a head-wind which drives them backward. . . . On large *chia-ling* sea-going ships, every several hundred men, and on small ones a hundred and more men, choose one of the more important traders as head-man who, with an assistant head-man, manages various matters. . . . Traders say that it is only when the vessel is large and the number of men considerable that they dare put to sea, for over-seas there are numerous robbers."*

The China coast, too, has generally been infested with pirates, who at times have proved a serious menace to trade.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31.

"In foreign lands, though there may be no tax on commerce, there is an insatiable demand for presents. No matter whether the cargo is large or small, the same demands are made; consequently small ships are not profitable. Sea-going ships are several tens of *chang* in breadth and depth.* The traders divide the space by lot among themselves and store their goods therein. Each man gets several feet, and at night he sleeps on top of his goods. The greater part of the cargo consists of pottery, the small pieces packed in the larger till there is not a crevice left. At sea they are not afraid of the wind and the waves, but of getting shoaled, for they say that if they run aground there is no way of getting off again. If the ship suddenly springs a leak they cannot mend it from inside, but they order their devil-slaves† to take knives and oakum and mend it from the outside, for the slaves are expert swimmers and do not close their eyes under water. The ship-masters know the configuration of the coasts; at night they steer by the stars, and in the day-time by the sun. When the sun is obscured they look at the south-pointing needle (the magnetic needle) or use a line a hundred feet long with a hook, with which they take up mud from the bottom; by its smell they determine their whereabouts. In mid-ocean it never rains; whenever it rains they are nearing an island. Traders say that when they get in calms the water of the sea is like a mirror. The

* There must be some mistake here, as ten *chang* make 100 feet.

† That is black slaves. Negro and other foreign slaves were much used in China until comparatively recent days.

sailors then catch fish. . . . When the ship is in mid-ocean, if suddenly there is seen in the distance a clump of islands covered with dead trees, and the skipper has reason to believe that there is no land in that place, they know that it is the sea-serpent. Then they cut off their hair, take fish-scales and bones and burn them, upon which it will gradually disappear in the water. All these are dangers, from most of which there is no escape. Traders give heed to the monks' saying: 'To cross the sea is dangerous, but pray, and you will see to the vault of heaven, and in nothing will help fail you.' On their arrival at Canton they make the monks presents of food, which is called 'Lohan's Feast.'"*

Chou Ch'ü-fei, writing in 1178, says:

"The ships which sail the Southern Sea and south of it are like houses. When their sails are spread they are like great clouds in the sky. Their rudders are several tens of feet long. A single ship carries several hundred men. It has stored on board a year's supply of grain. They feed pigs and ferment liquors. There is no account of dead or living, and no going back to the mainland when once they have entered the dark blue sea. . . . To the people on board all is hidden; mountains, landmarks, the countries of the foreigners, all are lost in space. . . . The big ship with its heavy cargo has naught to fear of the great waves, but in shallow water it comes to grief. Far beyond the Western Sea of the Arabs' countries lies the land of Mu-lan-p'i (Southern Spain). Its ships are the biggest of

* *Ibid.*, pp. 31–33.

all. One ship carries a thousand men ; on board are weaving looms and market-places."*

And again :

" Traders coming from the country of the Ta-shih (Arabs), after travelling south to Quilon on small vessels, transfer to big ships, and, proceeding east, they make Palembang. After this they come to China by the same route as the Palembang ships. . . . A year is sufficient for all the foreigners to make the round voyage to China, with the exception of the Arabs who require two years. As a general thing the foreign ships can make 1,000 *li* (300 miles !) a day with a good wind, but if they have the misfortune to run into a north wind and they can neither find an anchorage on our territory or some place in which to run to shelter and anchor in some foreign land, men and cargo will all be lost." †

At a later date the foreign traders to China were Dutch, Portuguese, and the East India Company. The tonnage of the foreign ships (especially British, German and Japanese) calling at Chinese ports at the present time is enormous, and a considerable fleet of coasting steamers has long been owned by a Chinese company.

China has for a long time maintained a navy, or rather a service of police boats, both on the coast and on the inland waters, but her efforts to provide herself with an efficient modern navy do not seem as yet to have met with very great success.

Next in importance to the great natural and artificial

* *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

† *Ibid.*, p. 24.

waterways are the roads. These were divided into the post roads, which sometimes follow ancient trade routes and are maintained by government, and private roads, maintained by local effort—local effort in the north-eastern provinces often taking the form of digging trenches or arranging large stones across the road with the view of driving the traffic on to one's neighbours' property. Such roads, if laid out at all, are often laid out on the boundary between two properties, so as to divide the loss of land between as many owners as possible, and thenceforth it becomes the natural aim of each owner to push the road over the boundary, so that it may run wholly on his neighbour's land. In the north such unpaved tracks across the fields often sink to a great depth and are filled with water, and then travellers are apt to get up on to the fields on either side, and so the road grows wider and wider, until the loss to the landowners must be quite considerable. They are, however, sometimes able to get compensation, as it is not an uncommon sight to see a large field of corn flourishing in the middle of even a government road, while the passengers follow an "up" and "down" track on either side.

In the parts where stone is commoner and wheeled vehicles more rare, the roads are little tracks a few feet wide, carefully paved with flags—the paving being done either by merchants' guilds, by wealthy individuals, by large Buddhist monasteries, or by public subscription. The distinction between north and south as regards the width and the paving of roads applies also generally to

the streets in towns and villages. The streets of Pekin are enormously wide, but until lately were, for the most part, neither paved nor metalled, excepting the two miles of straight street leading to the Palace Gate, the middle of which, like some of the post roads, had long ago been magnificently paved, not with flags, but with great solid blocks of stone; while the streets of Hangchow, the predecessor of Pekin as capital of China, are rarely twenty feet in width, but almost without exception down to the smallest lane are carefully drained and paved.

The most important of the twenty-one post roads are given in the *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire* as those leading from Pekin to Mukden, Ch'êng-tu (this road divides at Hsi-an, one branch going into Kansu and joining the old trade routes which passed through Hsi-ning or Tun-huang into Central Asia), Yünnan, Kuei-lin, Canton, and Foochow respectively. Every three miles along these roads is a *p'u* (or *pao*), a little wattle hut (in the north) which is whitewashed and adorned with a trumpery flag and a beggar in uniform, about New Year's time; and every ten miles a *t'ai* or solid square tower of brick or stone perennially, as far as our observation goes, unoccupied. In Mid-China more especially there would also be rest-sheds, tiled or thatched, at similar intervals, and great jars of tea provided gratis (often by an old endowment), with cups or bamboo ladles. Along the post roads might be seen not seldom a Government courier galloping on a shaggy pony, with his despatch wrapped in yellow cloth and bound across his shoulders. On the roads,

too, would be met an unending stream of travellers—countrymen with little bundles slung over their shoulders, pedlars with a tray on their head, a basket on their arm, or two large baskets slung at the two ends of a wooden or bamboo yoke across their shoulders, and in the north at least, countless vehicles loaded with goods or passengers. Better-off persons than the simple pedestrian will ride uneasily on a "little car," or wheelbarrow as the English call it—a flat frame resting without springs on the axle of a single wheel, which with its covering box, divides the frame into two wide seats. The whole is propelled by a man holding two handles behind with a strap over his shoulders, who may be assisted (or more often capsized) by a small square sail fixed cornerwise to a cross of two light sticks, or more reliably by a donkey or a second man pulling in front. Sails are, I think, rarely used on passenger cars. For short distances on good roads (e.g., in Shanghai) a little car will take seven (rarely eight) passengers, but for long country journeys two is the usual limit. A more stately and really comfortable vehicle is the "two-hands." Constructed on the same general lines as the little car, it is larger, has a higher wheel (which does not squeak) and handles before as well as behind, so that it needs two men. Confucius' words "Two men of one mind" are aptly inscribed on the frame of the two-hands. The hire of the two men and their car was about 10d. or 1s. a day at the end of the nineteenth century. The best two-hands known to the writer are those built at Ch'ü-fu or Ssŭ-shui, in Shantung, to convey flour to Chi-nan,

and often hired by passengers on the return journey. Beautiful pieces of the wheelwright's craft, worked by two stalwart men, and drawn by a well-fed donkey, they are the *trains de luxe* of wheelbarrows. Brakes are fitted to these cars in hilly country, generally consisting of two stout wedges of hard wood, so arranged that they can be made to grip the rim of the wheel. Superior to the two-hands in dignity but far below it in comfort is the two-wheeled covered cart (*chiao chü*), drawn almost always by a mule. This is the cart which, with its blue and black tilt, polished woodwork and hammered iron fittings, powerful handsomely harnessed mule, and loud-voiced, red-tasselled driver ever ready to slip off the shaft and give advice to any luckless obstructor of his way, formed once so characteristic and picturesque a feature of the Pekin streets. With them must ever be associated in memory the slow clank of the camel bell, the unearthly creaking of the water-cart, the gongs and drums and rattles and fine melodious chants of the street hawkers, the undiscoverable moaning of the pigeon-whistles, and all the other sounds and sights and scents that went to make the spell which Pekin, still only fifteen years ago, would throw over all who lived there.

Camels are ridden by the Mongols, but otherwise are chiefly used as beasts of burden, very largely for the transport of coal. Ponies, mules, and donkeys are all ridden in most parts of the country, and in the north and west are used as beasts of burden. Europeans who have hired donkeys in Shantung have been surprised to

find that no driver or donkey-boy follows them, and that yet the details of their agreement are known along the road, that a fresh beast is in readiness at the end of each stage, and the exact sum promised is demanded at the journey's end. The fact is that all the information is conveyed to those who have eyes to see by the number and position of the knots in a dirty little bit of string* which hangs from the donkey's harness.

Wheeled vehicles are now far more common in the north than in the south. On the east coast, at least, a two-wheeled cart is a rare sight south of the old bed of the Yellow River. Small, low, four-wheeled or three-wheeled waggons drawn by oxen may be seen on the banks of the Grand Canal; the so-called wheelbarrow is common—though far less common than in the north—over the southern part of the great plain; and on the banks of the Ch'ien-t'ang River at Hangchow there are rough four-wheeled waggons, drawn by two or three water buffaloes, used to bring passengers and merchandise to and from the river boats through the shallow water and over the sand flats. These are, no doubt, the descendants of the long carriages which amazed Marco Polo by their elegant convenience.

But the most characteristic vehicle, used, we believe, in some form or other almost everywhere in China, is the sedan. This is a chair, generally with a fixed or movable awning or cover, fastened between two poles. The official sedan is a heavy square thing covered with

* Perhaps a relic of the ancient system of keeping records by means of knotted strings.

cloth and fitted with glass windows and two short stiff poles, and carried by means of slings and two more, detachable, poles by four bearers. Private sedans and those which are for hire for unofficial use are far more lightly made, often with bamboo frames, and fitted with long pliant poles of wood or bamboo, which are joined at either end by a cross-bar and rest directly on the shoulders of the two bearers. The public sedans at Hangchow, for example, have narrow bamboo frames, the sides, back, and top filled in with closely-plaited bamboo matting, painted black, and wooden seats, covered with leather. Just across the Ch'ien-t'ang River the same chair is found, but a simple cord is used instead of the wooden cross-bars of the poles, and the bearers stand much nearer the chair and further from the end of the poles than they do elsewhere, so giving a curious jerking motion to the sedan, which, while it may ease the bearers' shoulders, not infrequently makes the passenger sea-sick. The form of the unofficial sedans, and especially of those used in the hills, varies greatly in different parts of the country—one of the most unusual being that of the chairs on T'ai-shan, the sacred mountain in Shantung. In central and southern China the mountain chair consists often of a board to sit upon, another to lean against, a stirrup, and two long bamboo poles. Mule-litters, large seatless sedans in which it is possible to lie down, where the human bearers are supplanted by mules, are used in parts of the north and north-west, especially for ladies going on long journeys. In the hills of Chekiang an oblong basket called a

P'i-lung, slung on a single pole and carried by two men, is used as a means of human conveyance.

The Chinese make it a kind of matter of conscience to express no surprise at the wonders and inventions of science. They apply Solomon's philosophy of the permanence of material, and the conservation of energy, to the accidents of invention, and the processes of creation. "There is no new thing under the sun. Is there a thing whereof men say, See, this is new? It hath been already, in the ages which were before us." And they are said to have legendary tales of paddle-wheels used on the Hangchow Lake some centuries ago; and even aviation, they feel convinced, was an art known to the ancients. But the introduction of modern methods of locomotion has been accomplished in China only after extreme suspicion and reluctance; not so much from a failure to appreciate their usefulness and adaptability to the country as from a wish to prove, perhaps, this indigenous origin of all clever and necessary appliances; or more likely from superstitious fear or a desire to wait till they could do the same for themselves, and, of course, from the fear that tens of thousands would be thrown out of work by each labour-saving innovation.

The *jinrikisha*, or "man-power carriage," introduced more than thirty years ago from Japan—a two-wheeled vehicle carrying one or two passengers at most, with a movable hood and waterproof apron, and propelled and guided by one man between the shafts and another pushing behind—has been adopted only locally in ports

like Shanghai or Hongkong, where there are well-metalled roads, and to a less extent in inland cities such as Pekin and Chi-nan, where the streets are very uneven. It is perhaps hardly likely that the Chinese with their whole enterprise and energies strained to the utmost in building railroads, will give thought and time and toil immediately to the improvement and widening of their other roads, turning them—notably in the central and southern provinces—from the paved or pebbled footpaths described above, through the vast rice plains or over the hills, into tracks not for these man-power carriages only, but for wheeled traffic generally. The ancient methods of locomotion by boat or in sedan chair will not readily abandon what remains to them of custom when railroads ravage the land. But the iron way itself has had a long and dispiriting conflict before it could reach its present state of bounding advance. The first tentative railway was built in the year 1874. It was a private enterprise to connect the inner port of Shanghai with its outer anchorage, Woosung, twelve miles distant, in order to facilitate the landing and transport of merchandise often delayed by the notorious Woosung Bar. The utmost difficulty was experienced by the projectors, a leading Shanghai firm, in the purchase of land for the track, in consequence of the opposition of the Chinese authorities. The owners of the land were for the most part willing to sell at exorbitant prices, but for the double fear of the wrath and exactions of the mandarins, and the peril of the luck of the land being dislocated and the god of the

soil insulted by this masterful and noisy intruder. The telegraph posts and wires first placed along the track—and the same happened all over the provinces at the first introduction of the telegraph—were torn down, as also uncanny and inimical to the good fortune of the people and the good will of the spirits of the earth and air. When at last by combined cajolery and compulsion, with liberal use of money, the line was finished, a despairing attempt was made to destroy the luck of the line itself—not, as with the first English railway, by the tragic death of the eager and able engineer and projector himself on the supreme day of his triumph—but by the pre-arranged and duly paid-for suicide of a soldier, who threw himself in front of the engine as it started, on the promise of one hundred dollars for his surviving widow and family. The line proved to be most popular with the people generally, and the passenger traffic was very large. The authorities, however, positively forbad the carriage of goods and merchandise; and when they thus defeated the chief object of the railway and persistently inveighed against its introduction as illegal and unauthorised, it was at last sold for two million dollars (then about £350,000) to the Chinese Government, professedly for transport to Formosa for a military railway, but really and effectively for another destination. The usefulness and facilities afforded by such a method of locomotion and transportation were, however, gradually impressed upon both rulers and people. The telegraph was protected by Government proclamations and the Imperial stamp

on every pole, and the nearest village through the crowded plains made responsible by heavy fine for any wilful damage done. The recognition of the necessity for better methods of communication was forced upon the Chinese mind very especially during the great famine of 1876 to 1879 in the north and north-west, and the campaigns of the Mohammedan rebellion at the same period. The writer witnessed the shipping to the north, in steamers, of vast quantities of coin and of unlimited grain for famine relief, and when they reached the port of call there was no means of transport to the affected area but by driblets on mule-back. Later than this, and when the principle was accepted, and the great trunk lines from Pekin to Hankow and from Hankow to Canton had been projected and surveyed, official opposition continued. Yes, they would have railways (this was in 1903-4), but they would build them themselves, and with their own coal and iron and engineering skill. The vast factories and furnaces and manufactories at Hankow, round which the conflict against the Manchus raged in 1911, had been built by the great Viceroy Chang Chih-tung with this purpose. His iron was too far from his coal, but he had this definite policy and design. And, lest the blame of this policy (bigoted was it, patriotic, or ignorantly superstitious ?) should be laid on the dynasty and the rulers alone, the writer, who saw Hankow in 1893, may state that he also witnessed, fourteen years later, the rioting and seditious uprising of the people against their magistrates and the Government because they condescended to raise

foreign loans and to employ foreign engineering skill in the construction of a specially difficult and intricate line of rail between Hangchow and Shanghai. They would repudiate the loan—they, the people, would provide the funds. Five-dollar shares were largely taken up, and, unawed by the problem of throwing a bridge over the Ch'ien-t'ang River with its mighty bore, which no structure of their imagination could withstand, and with a substratum of constantly shifting sand, they with hot haste resolved to have the railway, but that it should be Chinese throughout. The railway is now, with full foreign engineering skill, slowly growing ; but in other parts of China, notably in the finely laid and worked Shanghai-Nankin railway, extension has been considerable and the work thorough. Even a republic is obliged to resort to loans, and our latest news as we write is that the great Hu-kuang railway—a line 1,600 miles in length, and dealing with the provinces of Ssŭch'uan, Hupei, and Hunan, and so southwards to Canton—is fully surveyed, the work begun, and financed largely by foreign loans. The Chinese are, however, training in England and America and at home a large and able body of engineers, and if they are wise in welcoming thus at first on equitable terms foreign capital and Western skill, they may in the limitless ramification of the railway system projected by their eager dreamers, eventually attain to this ideal of Chinese money and Chinese skill predominant. The first railway to be quite successfully built and worked—the success being due no less to the perfect tact than to the technical skill

of the English engineer-in-chief, Mr. C. W. Kinder—was that between T'ang-ku and the coal-mines of T'ang-shan, afterwards extended to Tientsin and Pekin in one and to Manchuria in the other direction.

Steam traffic on the coast and with foreign ports has not met with the same opposition, except at Ningpo for a short time; considerations of geomancy and competition with native craft have not had much weight in the great wide sea; and the advantages of steam in the pursuit of the ubiquitous pirate craft on the coast, or in outrunning those dreaded rovers in the China seas, have over-ridden even patriotic sentiment and superstitious fear. But the introduction of steam in the inner waters, rivers and canals, has repeatedly led to violent opposition, and prohibition for a time. The great Chiang from its mouth below Shanghai up to Hankow (a course, as has been said, of six hundred miles) has now for many years been traversed by many lines—English, German, American, Chinese and Japanese—of fine river and some sea-going steamers, and Hankow is one chief centre of the foreign sea-borne and land-borne tea trade. Steamers of smaller draught and tonnage go higher still to I-ch'ang, and a few negotiate the great gorges with their rapids and reach Chung-ch'ing, the commercial capital of Ssŭch'uan, a distance measuring some fifteen hundred miles from the river's mouth. The system of steam launches for towing native river craft met with considerable opposition twenty-five years ago, and the writer has seen these launches taken off and refused official licence for months together, as

interfering with the established boat traffic, and as in some way threatening the good luck of the district. The system is now very generally adopted, and where twenty years ago the journey, for instance, from Hang-chow to Shanghai by the Grand Canal and by connecting waterways would often occupy five or six days—the boat being moored at night—the journey in native or foreign house-boat towed by a powerful launch occupies only eighteen or twenty hours. The railway follows approximately the same route and covers the distance in five or six hours. The latest and possibly the last developement of acceleration of locomotion and connection between the Far East and Europe is the Trans-Siberian Railway, with two main points of arrival and departure—Dalny, now a Japanese port, near Port Arthur, and Vladivostok, the Russian port. The railway was begun sixteen years ago by Russia as a military artery, with a commercial pretext. The South Manchurian section is now under Japanese control, and connects at Harbin with the Russian system. The line is guarded along a great part of its 6,000 miles course by military posts at carefully-selected intervals, and runs through the Buriat land and Siberia, past Lake Baikal and the remote life of Irkutsk, to Moscow, and so through Poland, Germany and Holland to Western Europe and England. Thus the Farthest East, approachable by sea sixty years ago only by the long Cape route and under sail, with a favourable voyage of 112 days or more, can now be reached by a land run of from twelve to sixteen days.

It is worthy of notice in connection with methods of locomotion and communication in China how good the Chinese postal system has been. The present system was arranged and ordered under the control of the Imperial Maritime Customs Department (with which the name of Sir Robert Hart must always be honourably associated) and is a State enterprise with strong foreign guidance and suggestion of method. But long before any Western influence was felt, the mails in China were handled with regularity, reliability and integrity worthy of all admiration. The methods and machinery probably varied in different provinces. Indeed, a post-office was almost unknown in the north-eastern provinces, but in the central provinces of commercial activity and of necessities caused by business intercommunication, the whole postal department (not in any perceptible sense a Government enterprise or monopoly, but managed by several private post-offices and companies in each large city, and these not in rivalry but with friendly co-operation) conducted its operations with singular efficiency and honesty. Money and valuables were carried as well as letters. The amount of postage was far less than English postage rates sixty years ago. Urgent letters were marked by a little feather stuck into the flap of the envelope. In cities and large market towns there would be, say, two deliveries (of letters arriving by two different routes) every day, and local deliveries more frequently, and the postman would call also for outgoing letters obligingly or in the way of business, and also as a great convenience, twice

daily. Bank drafts of comparatively large amounts, say for 200 dollars or more, would be transmitted by post; the amount enclosed would be stated on the face of the envelope, double postage charged, and the office would then hold itself responsible for the whole amount. Robberies, miscarriage and wilful damage were exceedingly rare, as though the common sense even of the criminal Chinaman could recognise the almost sacred character and public and private benefit alike of the post and the postman.

CHAPTER II

The Land and the People

China is so vast in geographical area, and in the varieties of her latitudes, that separate memoirs are almost demanded for the separate provinces. But we must offer here a mere general survey; with some special features which have come under our personal observation. The varieties in climate; the fauna and flora of China; her methods of agriculture, her handicrafts, her manufactures and products of her industries; her fine arts in music and painting, sculpture and graving; her food and drink, her life in town and country, her costume and customs and general characteristics, furnish a long list of subjects teeming with interest, and all the more so as some of them at least are changing and passing by, and should be, if possible, carefully photographed before they are lost to view and to memory. The form of the Empire of China, for we cannot yet quite drop the ancient title, approaches a rectangle; its length from the south-western part of the province of Ili bordering on Kokand (Long. 70° E.) to the sea of Okhotsk (Long. 145° E.)—the extremest limit, is 3,350 miles; its greatest breadth from the Yabliono mountains on the Russian frontier (Lat. 50° 10) to Yü-lin-kan Bay on the south coast of the Island of Hainan (Lat. 15° 10) measures about 2,400

miles. The superficial area of the whole Empire, with its outlying dependencies, is between four and six million square miles; while the area of China Proper alone is about 1,500,000 square miles, or more than twelve times that of the United Kingdom; a territory nearly equalling that of British India. These measurements and estimates afford some guide as to the probable population of China.

Some place the population so low as 240,000,000, without sufficient data; some (a quite recent computation) as high as 438,000,000. Twelve times the population of the United Kingdom—as the area of China is twelve times as large as that of the United Kingdom—gives about 500,000,000. The last census of British India, with a similar area to that of China Proper, and not on an average a greater density of population, gave about 300,000,000. The article on China in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives 390,000,000 as China's population; and the *Statesman's Year Book* (1902), giving 283 as the average population per square mile in China Proper, requires a population, besides the numbers in China beyond the provincial borders, of 382,000,000. The *Statesman's Year Book* (1913) gives 433,533,030 as the most recently accepted census, published by the Chinese Government; so that the different lines of calculation all converge towards the more familiar round numbers, accepted also by the Chinese themselves, of about 400,000,000. When we note that the great Empire's feet are fixed 8° within the Tropic of Cancer, and that its head reaches to 16° only south of the Arctic circle, the varieties of temperature and of

climate must be considerable. The climate of Pekin (40° N.L.) ranges from 10° to 25° Fahr. in the winter, and from 75° to 105° in the summer. The sea on the coast-line of the Northern Gulf of Pechili is frozen from December to early March, and the harbours are closed, the coasting steamers lying up for the winter. In Mid-China, Shanghai (31° 24′ N.L.) and Ningpo (30° N.L.), the extremes of temperature are nearly as great, but the average is more equable. We have recorded 8° Fahr. in Shanghai at the end of January, and 102° in July with a west wind (the hot wind in summer, and the cold wind in winter, as it sweeps over Asia's plains and hills, unmodified by the sea). Ningpo varies about half a degree in temperature as compared with Shanghai; and in either region heavy and long-lying snow-storms are sometimes experienced, and hockey is played sometimes on the frozen canals. In fighting the fires which are so frequent at the New Year season in Shanghai, the firemen, and the very rafters of the burning houses, are seen coated with ice from the hose water freezing as it falls, so severe is the frost. During the winter of 1892–3, three hundred beggars were found frozen to death in their shelter-sheds. We notice here, however, chiefly the extremes of heat and cold — and these are greatly modified as we proceed southward.

The climate of Canton, which for many years was the only port in China really familiar to Europeans, has been carefully noted and recorded—with a highest observation of 94° in July, and a lowest of 29° in January; but both in Canton and in Hongkong, in the same latitude,

the thermometer very seldom rises above 90° ; and snow and ice are very rare phenomena indeed.

In Hankow, the geographical centre of China Proper, the summer heat is more oppressive than in any other region of China. The city, one of the ports opened for trade after the second China war with England, stands (as we have noticed in chapter I.) on the bank of the great Chiang, nearly 600 miles from its mouth, and nearly 3,000 miles from the river's source. It was formerly a mere suburb of Han-yang fu, a city on the river Han, where that river joins the Yangtse ; the river Han in fact separates Hankow from Han-yang. Opposite to these two cities, Hankow and Han-yang, lies Wu-ch'ang, the provincial capital of the province of Hupei ; so that three great cities and centres of political and industrial and commercial life, with a population approaching 2,000,000, lie here under one *coup d'œil* of great beauty viewed from high ground afar ; but with dense and insanitary conditions of life when you draw near. The great heat may be accounted for, partly by the distance from the sea-breezes, and partly by the closer air of the valley through which the gigantic river flows. The winters of Hankow, however, are cold.

For climatic calculation take a few more regions, in the distant south-west, west and north-west of China. The province of Yünnan has an equable climate, especially in the central highland plains, which are from 5,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea level. The temperature in the summer seldom rises above 86° in the shade, and

the winters are moderate, till you reach the borders of Kueichou eastwards, where both frost and snow are more severe and last longer. The climate of the greater part of Ssŭch'uan, the largest province in China Proper, with an area (until last year) of 218,533 square miles, and a population of 68,724,800, is salubrious and free from violent extremes of temperature. The mercury scarcely ever exceeds 100° in the summer, and very rarely in the great plains and valleys falls below 35°. Shensi is the cradle of the Chinese race ; its capital, Hsi-an fu, was for many centuries the metropolis of China (Shensi means "West of the Pass," *i.e.*, the T'ung-kuan pass, where Shensi, Shansi, and Honan adjoin). Shansi, " West of the Mountains" (*i.e.*, the hills which divide the province from Chihli to the east), is traversed by two arms of the Great Wall, and is bounded west and south by the Yellow River. It formed the home and centre of rule, near the modern P'ing-yang, of Yao, the semi-historic and most famous of China's ancient Emperors, B.C. 2300. Both of these provinces have a much warmer climate than the vast adjoining province of Kansu, where the cold is very severe, and skins and furs are worn generally by the people. Kansu stretches across the desert of Gobi to the confines of Songaria to the north-west, and to the borders of Tibet on the west. Shensi and Shansi suffer much from the uncertainty of the rainfall in those regions ; and flood and drought periodically devastate vast tracts through which the Yang-tse and the Yellow River flow—from abnormal melting of the snows in the vast mountain ranges where these

rivers rise, and the inability both of ancient and, thus far, of modern engineering, to confine swollen rivers within their beds, and then to conduct them in irrigation where most wanted. These variations in the melting of the snows correspond in a measure to the variations in the monsoon rains in India, and to the fluctuations in the Nile. The average rainfall in China was estimated by Humboldt as 70 inches annually, but apparently his calculations were made from imperfect and partial data. We have known a fall of 24 inches in twenty-four hours at Hongkong, and a continuous downpour during the rainy season at Ningpo of heavy thunder-rain day and night without intermission for seven days, laying the whole of the vast plain under water. A similar inundation laid this plain, 1,500 square miles in extent, with 6,000 cities and towns and villages, four feet under water from end to end; but this last flood came on after three days only of torrential rains, accompanied by waterspouts, caused by the landing of a severe typhoon as it swept up the coast. The amphitheatre of hills surrounding this plain, rising some of them to a height of 2,000 feet, presented a strange appearance, as their sides were scarred by hundreds of landslips, caused by the bursting of the springs—the escape of the "rain-frogs," as Chinese legend or folk-lore declares, to pass seawards, and qualify for the degree and dignity of the dragon king of rain.

We have seen this great rice-growing plain under very different circumstances, in time of drought, with the canal beds dry and dust blowing. The vast stretches of riceland,

recently dotted over with the tender plants, drilled in by hand from the emerald seed-beds, looked as hard as iron. The country people in relays were digging for water as for very life; for they hoped thus to save, if possible, some at least of the fast withering rice-plants, which for nearly three months before harvest should stand in an inch or more of water, drawn up from the canals or streams below and tipped into the higher level fields by chain pumps worked by blindfolded buffaloes, or by treadmill pumps with men and boys, and sometimes women, toiling thus and singing day and night.

Agriculture holds the first place in the estimation of the Chinese among the branches of labour, ranking next after scholarship and letters, in the fourfold division of society—for "the king himself is served by the field"; and throughout the great arable plains and upland valleys and even in the high-lifted terraces of the hills, watered by intricate series of bamboo pipes, rice is the staple product of the land. The price of rice governs exchange, and affects markets of all kinds; and its steady rise of late years has been one great cause of grave anxiety and unrest amongst the people. Prices generally of the necessities of life have nearly doubled within the past fifteen or twenty years, and rent and wages have risen in proportion, rice all the while being the dominant and active partner in economics.

It is doubtful whether the machinery and methods of modern scientific farming, if experimented with in China, will be more effective and productive than the methods and implements which exhibit the practical experience

of China's husbandmen for 2,000 years. The character of the rice-plant, and the state of the soil required for its culture and growth, seem to indicate this. The inundation and deep ploughing of the fields (deeper far and more thorough than casual observers imagine), their harrowing while still under water; the thick-sown seed beds, the clumps of plants six inches high, taken out and tossed hither and thither into the water-covered fields, to be untied and planted one by one by hand; the unremitting supply of water, the careful tending of the plants between the narrow rows (early and late rice alternately sown) for the removal of any appearance of weeds and the levelling of even worm-holes; and the result in average crops and well-ripened and garnered grain (fields cut, threshed, and carried on the same day in favourable weather), affording an abundant gain for the long toil; all this could hardly be better done.

The methods employed in the cultivation of other crops, beside the staple rice, must not detain us; but we quote from a recent panegyric upon China, the following brief enumeration of the varieties in the products of the soil.*

"Within the boundaries of the Empire all the necessities of life can be supplied. Northwards as far as the Great Wall, and farther, in Mongolia and Manchuria, though the cold is extremely severe in winter, yet amongst grains, wheat and Indian corn and millet and sorghum abound; and amongst fruits we find pears

* *Cf.* "Great China's Greatest Need," in *The Splendour of a Great Hope*, p. 112.

and apples and fine grapes. Then southwards, as far as Hainan, though the weather is hot all the year round, yet there, too, fruits abound of different kinds, oranges, lemons, and pumeloes. Then in the more central provinces, Fukien, Chekiang, Anhui, and inland as far as great Ssŭch'uan, though the summers are hot, and there are cold spells in the winters, yet the weather is for the most part equable, and we find four or five varieties of rice in great abundance; and of fruits—peaches, plums, pears, and the beautiful arbutus berry, the *yang-mei*, and wheat, barley, beans, and peas; cotton also is widely grown on the alluvial plains, and hemp and tobacco; and the mulberry tree embowers the sides of the mountain streams as by forests stretching far into the bosom of the hills; and the silkworms, "the precious ones," are carefully tended—an ancient industry in China; and the tea-bushes cover the hills of Fukien and Chekiang. We find, therefore, every necessary article of food and clothing supplied in your great land."

The chief glory of the trees of China, and one which may be said to combine in itself food and clothing, supplied in other forms by the varied productions of the soil here enumerated, is the bamboo. It becomes rare as you travel to the farther northern districts, but it is found through more than two-thirds of the hills and plains of the eighteen provinces. It has been called, and not without reason, the national plant of China. Fine and useful timber abounds in the hills of central and southern China—the camphor tree, the liquid ambar, fir and pine of many varieties, the cypress and arbor-

vitæ, dwarf oak (mere brushwood in many districts, and useful only as fuel), an oak in the northern provinces whose leaves are used instead of mulberry leaves for silkworms, and larger oaks, with purple acorns, in Hongkong and on the mainland. The willow and alder and Pride of India fringe and shade the canals and rivers, and the holly of considerable size and red-berried, with mistletoe on camphor and other trees, abound in some districts. But the bamboo is everywhere, the waving tree standing 40 or 50 feet high in some groves, and the cane having a diameter of from 6 to 10 inches or more. Some varieties (the Chinese speak of sixty in all) are of lower growth and finer canes, a black-skinned variety being much used in furniture. It is raised from shoots and suckers; and when once rooted, it spreads underground, and propagates itself widely and rapidly. The tender shoots, as they push through the moss-strewn soil, to the height of 4 or 5 inches, are cut like asparagus, and form a delicious vegetable. The shoots which are left to grow up reach their full height of from 20 to 60 feet in one season, after developement showing itself in the hardening of the cane; and when thus fully ripened and seasoned, it is used for every imaginable purpose. The chopsticks, or knife and fork, with which you eat the young bamboo are themselves bamboo; the table at which you eat is made of bamboo; the chair on which you sit, and the couch on which you recline, the cane of the pedagogue, and the very paper of the book his pupil fails to repeat correctly, are bamboo; so are the pencil-handles and the cups to hold the pencils; the

IV.—WIND

[*To face p.* 72.

rain-coat of the husbandman and boatman are made from bamboo leaves sewed upon cords; and cut into thin splinters the wood is twisted into cables, plaited into tilts and awnings of boats, and woven into matting. The joists of houses, the ribs of sails, and the very sails themselves, are bamboo of different sizes and composition; and the carpenter, the porter, the boatman, all depend on bamboo poles. The shafts of spears, the wattles of hurdles, the tubes and shoots of aqueducts for terrace cultivation, and the handles and ribs of umbrellas and fans, the pipes of the Chinese organ, and the tuneful flute, long tobacco pipes, bird cages, and water wheels, wheelbarrows and hand-carts—"all are furnished or completed by this magnificent grass, whose graceful beauty when growing is comparable to its varied usefulness when cut down." * A very rare, if not quite unique, variety of the bamboo is found near Wên-chou, in southern Chekiang—the square bamboo. A variety of the peach unknown, we believe, elsewhere in the world is the flat peach of Shanghai. We had imagined that this fruit, which we have seen and tasted—in shape and size something like an artificially-pressed Normandy pippin, and with a true and luscious flavour of its own—was found only in the neighbourhood of Shanghai. But it is remarkable that "Flat Peach Clubs" are known amongst the Friendly Societies of China, and the name is said to have its origin from the legend of the "Western Mother," Hsi Wang Mu, of antiquity, which records that when she invited Han Wu-ti (B.C. 140) and the eight genii

* Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, vol. I., p. 277.

to a banquet, in other regions than Shanghai tea-gardens (for was it not in the fairy land of the Kun-lun Mountain, the Hindu Kush?), she gave to each of her guests some flat peaches out of her own garden.

The fruits and flowers of China, both wild and cultivated, deserve a special handbook to themselves, and we can merely allude here to some of the specialities in those enumerated above. Oranges and lemons are of good quality and variety. The Canton orange resembles the familiar St. Michael's oranges of Europe, with a thinner skin than the Jaffa oranges which have reached our English markets and are so welcomed here. In Swatow and Foochow and T'ai-chou fine loose-skinned oranges abound, and are sent to the northern markets in vast quantities. Others grow and ripen as far north as Ningpo, but these are of an inferior quality. Further to the south-west, at Ch'ü-chou, a large pale-skinned orange, called the "golden," is grown; and this fruit used to be supplied specially for the imperial table. The best fruit of this kind is perhaps the great Amoy pumelo, a fruit of a pale yellow colour, lying in flakes inside the thick protecting rind, with an average circumference of about 25 inches. A coarser fruit, with a dull red colour, is grown further north. Cherries of an inferior but very palatable kind come in with green peas and beans in April; but though wild currant bushes and wild raspberries are found, neither these fruits nor strawberries nor gooseberries were cultivated in Chinese gardens till their Western guests arrived and demanded the fruits of home. The diminutive golden

orange, the cumquat, grown largely for preserves, and the loquat, the persimmon, yellow and red, and the lichee, are well known and valued amongst Chinese fruits. The citron is valued more for its fragrance than for its taste. The *Fo-shou*, or Buddha's-hand-citron, shaped thus artificially while growing, is specially valued, and carried in the hand or placed on the table as a wholesome scent in the unwholesome days of later autumn. The Chinese, with their almost passionate love of flowers and of fair rural scenery, seldom arrange parterres and masses of flowers, or flower-borders and green sward, as in English gardens; but both in pots indoors and in artificial rock-work beds and shelves they delight to display both flowering shrubs and festoons of roses (the damask rose, the cluster "seven sisters" rose, the banksia, both cultivated and wild, in great masses), and the peony, a flower celebrated and discussed and described in ancient and modern pictorial art, and in prose and poetry. In the beautiful private residence of the literary family, whose large private library is mentioned in another chapter, the writer with his brother, Bishop Moule, and ladies of the Mission, were invited to examine several portfolios of flowers, peonies, roses, camellias and others, painted with rare artistic taste and admirably modulated colour by the ladies of this interesting and intellectual family. Some of the colours, both natural and in their artificial copying, are hard to match in Europe.

Then come into the open air and beyond the city walls —those ancient and picturesque and, in old warfare and

unrest, not ineffective defences of China's cities and larger country towns. The walls are as a rule massive earthworks faced without and within with granite and with more fragile battlements of brick, pierced for gingalls or small cannon. The average thickness of a city wall would be 22 feet at the base and 18 at the summit, with a height of from 20 to 30 feet. Plants of all kinds, and even shrubs and trees, strike roots in the interstices of the walls, and make the city sides lovely at times with honeysuckle and dog-roses or with the brilliant hues of autumn leaves. It is one of the imagined reforms of young China, when the picturesque and the venerable are all sacrificed to the material and the utilitarian and the scientifically precise, to level these walls, and run electric trams and motor-'buses along the line of the ancient defences. We have watched these walls withstanding successfully, so far as effecting a breach was concerned, the heavy guns of English and French corvettes fifty years ago; but they would not stand five minutes against the more modern and powerfully explosive shell-fire, and for defence in war they are doubtless useless. But it will be long before the intra-mural inhabitants of the great cities will sleep quietly with the walls levelled and the gates banished, which used to form a check upon, or, at any rate, some surveillance over, banditti and undesirable aliens by day and by night, and in some cases afford protection from the night attacks of wild beasts. But now we are outside the walls, and clear of the long and busy suburbs, and in the wide country, in the fields or on the slopes

of the hills of Chekiang, most familiar to the writer. How fair is a morning in April or early May! The sun is up, and is fast dispersing the low white mist over the land. The sharp metallic cry of the pheasant is heard, and there, almost glorious in the sunshine which lights up every dewdrop on the grass around him, the great red bird is flapping his wings and rejoicing in the morning air.* China is almost the ancestral home of the pheasant. Both the gold and silver pheasant come from China, and, though nearly exterminated now in a wild state, while reared extensively for sale, they still linger, probably, in the woods of the inland provinces. In Mid-China the commoner pheasant is so abundant that the average market price in the season, which is generally observed by native sportsmen, would be less than two shillings a brace. There are several varieties of the pheasant, and one discovered by the well-known ornithologist, Swinhoe, is peculiar to the hills of Chekiang. It is so rare and highly prized, that the writer once had a commission entrusted to him—which, however, he failed to execute—namely, to procure six brace of living birds of the Swinhoe variety for transmission to England, for which the offer of £5 a brace was made. Williams mentions amongst eminent varieties of this pheasant tribe, the *Phasianus superbus*, or barred-tailed pheasant, known since 1832 to naturalists as Reeves' pheasant, from the name of the traveller who first introduced the bird into England. The tail-feathers of the cock bird, with alternate bars of white and yellowish colour, have

* *New China and Old*, p. 109, *et passim*.

been seen 7 feet long, though 4 feet only is the average length. The argus pheasant is found in China, and is probably the model of Chinese legendary descriptions and delineations of the phœnix. The peacock and the iris pheasant are also known in China, and the plumage of the male birds is of rare beauty. Wild turkeys are met with, and bustards, wild swans, and wild geese of many kinds. Egrets, storks, cranes, curlews, corn-crakes, partridges, quails, sometimes in great quantities, and snipe in the season, tired with their long migratory flight, will cover the ground; woodcock also, and waterfowl of very great variety and number. Ouzels haunt the mountain streams, and great grey king-fishers, besides two or three varieties of the more familiar brilliant flashing bird, are found; also mandarin ducks, a name, "mandarin," given (as it is also to a special kind of orange) not so much from their being appropriated to the use of officials, as from the beauty of the species. These with the gulls and fish-hawks and very many varieties of sea-birds which haunt the coast, and the screaming carrion kite, and large eagles soaring in inland skies, form but a section of the list of China's bird life. The cormorant is tamed and trained for fishing, with an easy gag in the shape of a small collar round the neck, to allow of the passage of small fry for the bird's food, while preventing the swallowing of larger fish, which are duly appropriated by the fisherman. The golden oriole, with its brilliant sunshine of colour and its low tuneful call, is well known in the hills of Chekiang. A small brown thrush sings

V.—FISHING CORMORANTS

[*To face p.* 78.

in the gardens with a note like a subdued version of the storm cock's soaring song. Robins abound, and tits, long-tailed and blue, finches, the hawfinch and crossbill, sparrows, chiefly the tree-sparrow, in great numbers, swifts and martins, and migratory buntings.

But now observe, as we leave the pheasant crowing and pass along the canal, and approach the hill-sides, the broad beans are in full bloom, and as the sun warms the flowers, and the breeze wafts the odour, the air is deliciously fragrant. In the northern provinces the bean is quite a staple crop, and the manufacture of bean-curd and bean-cake is a great industry, supplying one of the chief exports from the port of Niuchuang and elsewhere. The wheat now in early May is tall and luxuriant, as it is only one month from harvest-time. Great masses of red clover are in flower, and now they are ready to be ruthlessly ploughed into the half-submerged soil, which is being prepared for the rice planting; and so important is the clover as a manure that the harvest is in a measure foretold by the weight of the clover. The irrigation pumps, fresh-painted for the new season, are now taken out of their winter shelters in temple yard or shed, and are fixed at intervals along the canal banks for the summer's ceaseless toil. The yellow oxen, or water-buffaloes, which, blindfolded with deep blinkers, turn the flat wheels of these pumps, are enjoying rest and fresh pasture for a time on the low hill-sides, or amongst the clover and buttercups which clothe the tombs. Our boat now approaches the hill-sides, and red bunches of azaleas hang from the

banks, and mirror themselves in the water of the inundated rice land. The hills are in their full-orbed beauty. The great azalea carpet, 1,000 miles long and 500 deep, starting from the hills on the Yang-tse shores, down to the peak of Hongkong, and covering also the hills and mountains of Japan, is the chief glory, and a very entrancing glory, of the springtime of the Farthest East. The pure white flower is comparatively rare and local, but the red azalea, with six or eight gradations of colour, passing from purple and deep scarlet to pink hues of many shades, and, a little later, the large yellow azalea, reported to be poisonous for cattle, are common. These gorgeous flowers, opening first on the lower slopes of the hills, climb gradually to the very summit of the mountains, some of which reach an altitude of 3,000 or 4,000 feet. Wistaria also covers the rocks, and sometimes camphor trees, 30 or 40 feet high, are festooned from the summit to the ground by branches of this beautiful and fragrant creeper, hanging and trailing amongst the brilliant green of the young camphor leaves. On one occasion, as we climbed one of these carpeted hills in the flowery springtime, we were suddenly confronted by the beautiful sight of an arbour of wistaria with a tall spike of scarlet azalea amongst the blue-lilac blossoms, and a deer running under the trailing bloom. Single camellias also abound on the hillside, and in temple courts and in private gardens fine camellias are often grown, with double flowers, and red and white side by side. We remember one spring day, when visiting one of these temples to converse with the

priests, the full-blown blossoms were beginning to fall in gentle cascades of beauty, stirred by the April breeze ; and the priests gladly accepted Christian literature in return for a handful of their fair fading flowers. Blue borage covers the ground, and the fir-trees are in flower, and women and girls are busy amongst the trees, gathering the pollen to mix with cakes.

And now :

"I hear a charm of song through all the land."

The blackbird's note is heard ; and the familiar English bird, with his orange bill and tranquil fluting note, sings in city gardens as well. The Chinese yellow-eyebrowed thrush makes the hills resound with melody, wood-pigeons murmur, and the soaring cry of rooks and the croak of the raven are heard; and magpies chatter not singly,

"garrulous under a roof of pine,"

but in flocks, in the autumn and winter, as numerous as starlings in England ; and they crowd the battlements of the city walls, or quarrel amongst the tall river-sedge before going to roost. There flies, or rather glances, among the trees in the spring-time, the *shan-ch'üeh*, the hill-magpie—a fine grey bird, with long trailing tail-feathers and a peculiar chatter of its own. Now the cuckoo calls—the same bird, surely, as ours, flying from tree to tree, with the same intonation of mingled present-day pertness and the pathos and melancholy sweetness of long ago. It is the same in genus, with slight differences only in plumage, which mark it as indigenous. But this smaller and best-known bird is only one out of

a family of cuckoos. Listen to the deep-toned bell-like call from the rice plain below us. It is seldom that you catch sight of this large singer, which is also of the cuckoo tribe. There are two other varieties of the cuckoo known to the writer. During the beautiful days of April and May, and all night long as well, the hills resound with the loud and plaintive notes of these birds. It is difficult to catch sight of the sad singer, though sometimes the voice startles you by its nearness. And the country people, perhaps from the mysterious invisibility of the bird, have woven its song into ancient folk-lore, or have invented the legend to suit the song. "K'ang-k'ang mai-kao," "Hide, hide the wheat-cakes," cries one bird all through the tuneful spring; for it is the soul of a Chinese girl thus telling her long sorrow to the listening hills; starved and nearly beaten to death by a tyrannous mother-in-law; stealing one day, to appease her ravenous hunger, two small wheat-cakes, and terrified by the old woman's step returning from the hill-side, she stuffed all into her mouth to hide the theft, and was choked and died. "Hsiao tzŭ tang tang," "Your dutiful son will hold you up," cries another cuckoo; for here speaks, with pathetic undying love, the soul of a dutiful lad, the only son of his widowed mother. She died, and he, heartbroken, followed his mother's coffin, carried in funeral procession to rest on the hill-side. The sad train moved on with wailing and tears; and, coming to a narrow footbridge across a mountain torrent, the bearers stumbled, and the loving son hurried forward to help them, and received the

whole weight of the coffin as it fell and crushed him to death. Glad to have died, though it seemed in vain, for his dead mother, still he sobs out in musical dirge his purpose and resolve of love.

The Chinese, with less imagination of pathos, interpret the more familiar cuckoo's note thus, "Tsou-k'o, tsou-k'o"—"Make my nest, make my nest"—which is expounded either as a scarcely veracious promise to the much-enduring hedge-sparrow that next year the cuckoo will make her own nest, or as a command to the obsequious bird to have everything snug and ready for the cuckoo's return next year. This bird is, as with us, migratory; but it seems to go no farther south for the autumn and winter than Formosa.

Now, turning to a brief narrative of the fauna of China, in a book of travel entitled *The Big Game of Central and Western China*, Mr. H. F. Wallace, F.R.G.S., tells us of his discovery of rare animals, especially the Shansi Takin, which he describes thus:

"This animal is allied to the ox, and is credited by the natives with more than ordinary viciousness; in sunlight the Takin is of a conspicuous golden yellow, though the females are considerably lighter and more silvery in hue, like the yellow in the coat of a polar bear. The bulls are much larger, and have a decidedly reddish tinge about the neck, not unlike the colour of a lion. Though much larger in size, they yet reminded me very strongly of the Rocky Mountain goat (*oreamnus montanus*) both in their heavy build and apparently clumsy lumbering gait. On occasions, however, they can cover

the rough ground on which they dwell with the agility of a rhinoceros."

The hill sheep of Kansu are also described—dwelling at a great altitude, and rendering stalking both dangerous and laborious. The white-maned serow is also named—with enormous ears and an elongated pensive face. Roe-deer and wapiti (until quite recently set down as peculiar to the American continent) were found in Kansu. After crossing the Wei River, which flows from the westward into the Yellow River at the south-west corner of Shansi, Mr. Wallace speaks of the number of wolves infesting the country, and of their frequent attacks on people, and carrying off children. But wolves and bears, and the biggest game of all, tigers, are met with much further south, and not in the wild and sparsely-populated regions, but in the neighbourhood of great cities, and amongst the thickly-populated plains and upland valleys of *e.g.*, Chekiang and Fukien. A sportsman, known to the writer some few years ago, was watching at night, on his back, for wild geese, when a large animal jumped over him, and astonished at his recumbent figure, stood at bay for a moment against a white-plastered tomb. The moon was shining brightly, and the sportsman saw at once that it was a large grey wolf. He was informed the next day by the inhabitants in the great alluvial cotton-growing plain close by, with a population of half-a-million, that wolves hunt here in packs at certain seasons of the year, and sometimes carry off children. On the shores of the beautiful lakes which lie among the hills to the east of Ningpo,

with its 400,000 inhabitants, and with something like 50,000 or 60,000 on the very shores of the lakes, another sportsman was aroused while at breakfast in his house-boat by a cry from his servant, and hurrying to the head of his boat he was just in time to bring down with his rifle a full-grown grey wolf; and two minutes later a second wolf rushed past in pursuit, and was shot down. It was hard to believe the assurance of the country people that in that populous and busy region, which we had traversed for years, wolves had always haunted the hills, and were greatly dreaded. Further south, amongst the T'ai-chou mountains, and still in the immediate neighbourhood of a considerable population, we have heard at night the cry as of a low bark, from what the Chinese in that region call dog-headed bears, but which are doubtless wolves. A husbandman going into the fields on a summer's day not long ago, accompanied by his wife carrying her baby, began his work of hoeing in his plot of ground, and his wife laid the baby to rest in the long grass by the wayside, while she helped her husband in his work. Unknown and unsuspected by the poor couple, a dog-headed bear had been skulking near, and followed them at a little distance; and as the woman deposited her baby, the brute ran in and carried it off. Large and fierce wild-cats are met with in the hills of Chekiang, and leopards are quite numerous.

As far north as the shores of Hangchow Bay, and as far south as Amoy, both on the island and adjoining mainland, royal tigers, ten feet long, have been encountered from time to time; and in some regions where the jungle from

long neglect has become dense, both tigers and black panthers are frequently met with.

The Ningpo plain which we describe above, with its 6,000 cities, towns, and villages, all alive from west to east with the confused sounds of industry and occupation, has been traversed several times by these great cats, travelling, it is presumed, in pursuit of deer by night, and lying down in some bamboo or brushwood shelter by day; and they have ventured to the very outskirts of the suburbs of the capital city, Ningpo.

One of these dangerous and savage beasts, after mauling and killing a man, was discovered by the villagers near, who had been roused by the dying cries of their poor friend. The great city was close by, three miles distant, and the news reached the ears of the general in command of the garrison. He took with him half a regiment of soldiers, and a small artillery-train, and besieged the tiger and did him to death, not however before he had charged again and again, and badly torn some of the men. And then over the carcase of the man-eater arose an angry and critical discussion as to which of three chief claimants should possess the prey. "It is mine," said the Commander-in-chief, the T'i-t'ai, "I am bound by law to be brave; and there is no recipe for courage to equal soup from tiger's flesh and bones." "The beast is mine," said the Tao-t'ai, the chief departmental magistrate, "travelling, and slain in my domain, there is no question as to my right to the animal." "Not so," said the Governor of the Province, the Fu-t'ai, or his representatives, "the first

VI.—TIGER

[*To face p.* 86.

offer of the carcase must be made to the paramount lord." Eventually the controversy was settled by the presentation of the head to the Fu-t'ai, of the skin to the Tao-t'ai and of the flesh and bones to the intrepid T'i-t'ai. But this happened, it will be remembered, in Old China! Will such customs and superstitions age, and the tigers themselves pass with the New China of the Republic?

The great strength of these animals was shown the other day, when a tiger carried off a large pig, weighing from 200 lbs. to 300 lbs., in his mouth, as a cat would carry a kitten. He was traced along the sandy shore of a stream which we traversed a few days later; and it was observed that after carrying the pig high off the ground for some distance, the tiger, tired of the exertion, dragged it trailing across the sand till he reached his lair, and then at his leisure he devoured as much as suited his taste. Near this spot is situated a Mission Station of the C.M.S., with a large Church. One Sunday afternoon, as the service was nearly ended, the congregation were alarmed by a tiger's roar not far off; and as many of them came from a town a mile distant, they were obliged to spend the night in the Church before they ventured with fear and trembling to go home. In this same neighbourhood a calamity happened, almost unique, one would believe, even in the annals of any but the fiercest man-eating tigers. One of these terrible beasts actually entered a cottage, the door standing open, and seizing the mother from the midst of her children, carried her off bodily and devoured her. Tigers are good swimmers; and both between the Island of Amoy and the mainland,

and between Singapore far south and Johore, and other islands near the Singapore coast, there is a frequent communication of tigers to and fro, to the great alarm of the people.

A skin of the rare *capricornis maxillaris*, a beast with goat's horns and large grinders, has been seen by a friend of the writer; but not the living animal; and how far it is distributed is uncertain. Wild-boar, and some of great size, 300 lbs. weight and more, and looking like small oxen, are met with over a large stretch of country. One Sunday afternoon, the writer, after Evensong, went into the hill-country near his Mission Station, to preach in the villages. As he crossed a low pass, and turned a sharp corner of the hill-side, he came upon a wild-boar, a badger, and a fox, sitting on their haunches in a friendly contemplative attitude, facing the sunset.

Foxes in Mid-China are much smaller than the English fox; and hares are about the size of a large rabbit. Wild rabbits are seldom found, though we used to hear rumours of wild white rabbits amongst the moss-strewn bamboo forests in the Chekiang hills. In the midland regions of China known to the writer, horses are rarely met with, except those introduced from Australia only for the use of foreigners, and small and fleet racing ponies from the north, and they are never used in agriculture. Small donkeys are seen, chiefly bestridden by itinerant doctors, sitting in the orthodox manner well back near the tail. The water-buffalo is the husbandman's chief friend in the supremely laborious ploughing and harrowing of the inundated fields—a beast

cumbrous and strong and patient, though of somewhat uncertain temper, but smaller than the fierce and formidable black jungle buffalo standing 6 feet high, found in the marshy ground of Singapore and the Straits. Chinese husbandmen use also a small yellow ox in their fields. Chinese towns and villages are infested with "pariah" dogs—noisy and cowardly till they have to stand at bay in a corner, when they are dangerously aggressive. It would be well if some useful occupation were found for these pests, besides their undoubted use as scavengers and as watchdogs at night. The Japanese jinrikisha runners in some mountain districts harness their favourite dogs to the little carriage, and they put forth their best strength in helping their masters up hill.

It is customary to regard the *lung* or dragon of the Chinese throne and flag, and of the Imperial coat-of-arms, so much as a wholly mythical beast and the creation of legendary fancy, that with the hauling down of the flag, and the overthrow of the throne, the animal itself may be dismissed perhaps from narrative and description of the fauna of China. Possibly this is the case; but there is, if we mistake not, a growing suspicion amongst geologists, that the iguanodon of the rocks is remarkably like the Chinese *lung*, and possibly the historical source of the supposed legend.*

Chinese architecture is often spoken of as almost non-existent as an art—and as illustrated chiefly by fantastic and fancy portraiture on Chinese willow-pattern scenery.

* Another view is that the *lung* is the *alligator Sinensis*. *Cf.* L. C. Hopkins, *Dragon and Alligator* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1913, pp. 545–552.

It is perplexing, indeed, to find in a country so ancient, and with a people so long acquainted with the arts of civilisation and with education and literary monuments of antiquity, so few ancient buildings, so little of planning and creating for far-off ages, for all time. And yet with this ephemeral structure, the type has lasted long. We do not find any seven lamps of architecture burning in China—no Roman, Byzantine, Saxon, Norman, transition, decorated, early English, Gothic styles. But we notice, so far as we can trace back, in temple roof and in country house alike, reproductions in stone and brick and tile of the stretching tents of ancient, nomadic China on her arrival in her new home. The buildings erected for the Tartar garrisons in the provincial cities under the old régime were in idea and arrangement a reproduction in stone and brick of the tents of a canvas camp. Most graceful and picturesque and artistic is the style of temple architecture, but there is no solidity or majesty about it. This feature is supplied more by the bridges, with spans, or "eyes" as the Chinese call them, of differing size and number, solid, strong, splendidly true, with keystone and perfectly curved arches—a fine art indeed, when the rudeness of the scaffolding and of the porterage and leverage of the massive stones is considered. Some of the memorial stone arches, which in certain semi-sacred regions (as *e.g.* between the city of Hsiao-shan and the portage of Hsi-hsing, as you near Hangchow) are seen in avenues and long rows, exhibit not only massive and permanent masonry, but sculpture of wonderful depth and beauty. Some of the oldest

monuments in China are pagodas—a thousand years old and more, and of varying heights. As you travel northwards and beyond Pekin, the pagodas are more like rough square towers, and the Tibetan type of Lhassa temples appears, but the more familiar form of the pagoda is a polygonal and tapering form, from 100 to 200 feet high. The original idea seems to have been not vaguely to secure the luck of a city or district, but to restrain and confine evil influences underground by this heavy extinguisher. But often the pagoda was simply a shrine for Buddhist relics.

Coming now indoors, and turning from this brief sketch of the fauna and flora and outdoor employments of the people, and their dwellings and buildings, we notice that the arrangement and the interiors of houses, in the cities, towns and villages alike, follow pretty nearly the same lines. The shop fronts to the streets are of course more artificial, though showing great variety in adornment and display. The Chinese often follow a custom not unknown to the rest of civilised countries, namely, the reservation or assignment of certain streets or quarters of a city to certain trades. The Leather-market street, for instance, in a city known to the writer, is occupied mainly by the manufacturers of leather travelling or packing cases; the Drum-tower street is occupied almost exclusively by the stalls of fish-mongers, fruiterers, and market-gardeners. The gold-smiths and silversmiths have their recognised quarters; and nothing is to be found in certain streets but long and attractive rows of furniture shops. Behind these shop

rows, however, you will find reproduced in quadrangular courts and thickly-packed groups of houses, the arrangement of the country villages. Each courtyard and considerable group of houses, inhabited sometimes by members and branches of one family, and with the same surname, but more often by a more promiscuous tenantry, will as a rule have a common hall, which may be the ancestral hall of the family—or it may merely be a convenient place for meeting together for gossip or for business, and a convenient place for deposit during the winter of the pumps and gear and other implements used in irrigation and agriculture, if in the country; or of carpenters' and masons' materials, if in the city or walled town. You enter one of the houses within the court, which court is sometimes completely open towards the south, save for a detached dead wall to ward off evil influences, or else it has houses all round, the approach being by a narrow alley. In the case of an agriculturist's house in the country, or of a small artisan's in the town, you probably step over the high threshold on to the mud floor of the common room, with a kitchen at the back, but with the sitting-room to your left, which you will be asked to enter—boarded, and neatly and often artistically arranged with chairs and tables with red-wood tops and yellow legs, and sometimes inlaid and carved. A picture of a family ancestor perhaps hangs here, and sometimes a shrine is seen; but this would rather be in the family hall. Scrolls hang in pairs, with sententious sayings or classical quotations in harmonious juxtaposition, and often with flowers, or bamboo tracery;

and these make the room attractive and bright. You might see, in old days, two parallel couches, with suspicious signs of the materials for opium smoking. This eyesore, however, was comparatively rare except in rich men's country houses, till the period of fashionable and almost universal opium smoking, which immediately preceded its suppression and abolition. These country houses are sometimes on a very large scale. The long and lofty white walls surrounding and isolating them from the neighbouring villages, and enclosing perhaps seven or eight branches of a rich family—each branch with a separate establishment and courtyard and rockwork garden—gleam through the land. The walls are high enough and strong enough, and the doors capable of such firm fastening as to defy fire or the rude weapons of assault used by irate country people. The roof-tiles used in most houses are so substantial and sound, and they are so carefully piled and fitted, sloping down from the roof-ribs, that even when unceiled the upper rooms are not much troubled with leakage ; the chief danger being —especially in sites high up the hills, or in places narrow between the lower hills, swept by draughts of tempestuous wind—the tearing off of the tiles. On these higher situations, both in China and Japan, heavy flat stones are placed on the tiles, or they are kept in place by ropes weighted at each end by stones, or thick blocks of wood. Some mountain temples are roofed with tiles made of cast iron or even of brass ; and the ordinary tiles are laid on a thick bed of mortar in the North. We have seen in the city of T'ien-t'ai, in the province

of Chekiang, a city near the mountains and exposed to such tornadoes, not only whole rows of houses unroofed by a great gust of the storm, but also the massive memorial stone arches described above, blown down flat ; aye ! and more weird than this—and than the drowning of many boatmen and passengers on lumber rafts and charcoal cargo boats overturned in the rushing flood torrent—the lightning, in such fierce play as we have never seen before, was reported to have torn off the lid of a coffin on its way to the tomb, lifted the corpse high out of the case, and leaving the grave-clothes hanging in a tree, to have dropped the corpse into the road. The surroundings of Chinese courts and houses seem to be one loud-voiced and ill-favoured ridicule of sanitation. There is scant privacy, and none seems expected or desired, save for women indoors. Drainage, if cared for at all, is surface drainage ; and this, unless it becomes permanently stagnant, is undoubtedly less harmful than imperfectly trapped underground drainage. Gases cannot accumulate, save in the form of evil odours which are perennial. One wonders sometimes whether in the dangerously unhealthy months of September and early October, when these evil smells are rendered intolerable by damp and heat and breathless air combined, life is not saved continually by the Eden scent and almost heavenly fragrance of the *kuei-hua*, the *olea fragrans*, which fills and conquers the foul air of city and country alike by its sweetness. The houses of the Chinese in the city and country are sometimes, and specially in the North, mere bungalows, with no

upstairs rooms ; or more generally they are one-storied buildings with two or three bedrooms, bare and comfortless, save for the ponderous fourposter family bedstead, with a tiny boudoir or dressing-room, all within the embrace of the framework. The windows are low, and darkened by the deep eaves. We have slept in such a gigantic bed, and in such a bare bedroom, upstairs in a house on a hillside, and so perched that half the bedroom floor was the floor of the hillside ; and we stepped out of the bedroom window, as it were, on to moss-strewn ground shaded by bamboo. The rats were scuttling and screaming in the roof, and down below, far into the night (as we had retired early, from fatigue), we heard with thankfulness our Chinese catechist teaching and preaching Christ to the neighbours, who sat and listened long, emphasising their appreciation of the preacher's words by knocking out the ashes of their long pipes, and filling them continually.

The aspect of the country in hill and plain undergoes very great changes in the four seasons, and this largely from the absence of prairies or large stretches of grass land, which give to England the wonderful perpetual charm of green all round the year. Such green as China has—we write here chiefly of central China—round her graves, or by her hill-slopes, turns brown in the late autumn and winter. The preparation of the clay soil for rice cultivation does not begin till the spring, so that after the latest rice and fruit crops are gathered in, the boundless rice plains and the hillside present a dull monotonous brown, of stubble and bare boughs, broken only by

patches of winter greens; and the tall reeds and sedge by canal and river, turned now from light green to dull yellow, are all alive with flocks of wildfowl. Then come the brilliant emerald patches of the rice seed beds; then the great expanses of the plain or hill valleys are dotted with the countless young plants pricked out; then with the ceaseless chorus of the apparently drilled and disciplined frogs (for they cease their clamour, and recommence it as by the signal of a fugleman), the irrigation of the fields necessitating a constant supply of water begins, and ceases not day nor night. The fields are green now all over; and the rice grows and flowers and turns yellow under the fierce suns of July and August. Meanwhile the hills, carpeted and covered with flowers, and resounding with song in the spring months, lose both flower—but not the fadeless summer green of bamboo and brushwood—and song—save for the cuckoo, which sings into August, and the oriole and low-voiced Chinese nightingale. Now the great masses of yellow grain in the plains are cut and garnered—the early rice in early August; the intermediate crop, the chief harvest, in September; the *wai-po*, or best white rice in October; and a fourth variety later; and the cotton crop is cleared and gathered in from the alluvial plain. Autumn flowers —the wild pink, and gentian, and the gorgeous bridegroom flower, scarlet, purple, yellow, and white, a fine bulb growing round tombs and watercourses—glorify the scene. Autumn berries also, and the scarlet leaves of the candle tree, with the pure white opening berries among the leaves, and the glow of dwarf oak leaves

and maple, carry us on to the keen air and frosty ground of December and January. But earing follows hard on harvest in China as with us; and in November the sloping banks of the canals are green with winter wheat and broad beans, which stand even the most bitter frosts.

Now watch the characteristics of the inhabitants of these cities and villages of China, and their life in the fair land of their inheritance. The theory has been propounded by some observers that the Chinese nation is deaf; and that this is demonstrated by the incontrovertible fact that as a rule everyone talks, and at all times, at what seems to be the very top of his voice. They do not shout to emphasise a particular point: even the most commonplace remarks are thus enunciated. Their quarrels also, especially those of women with their neighbours half a dozen yards off, are a war, not of personal conflict, from which they are held back by neighbour's hands, but of words, and those sometimes exceeding bad, flung out with loud and almost hysterical screams. The Chinese common oath is profane—not so much in introducing the Divine name with careless and revengeful appeal to God, as in degrading and debasing reference to the human frame and nature. But the Chinese, though a loud-voiced and at times quarrelsome people, and at times again barbarously and vindictively cruel, have nobler and more attractive characteristics; and these last deserve more the attribute of characteristic than those others, which may be called in their badness and repulsiveness, accidental, occasional, local. Attention

is being much drawn in these days, and perhaps with justice, to the natural and, one would almost be asked to conclude, the divine virtues of gentleness, patience and subordination in the Hindu. But though one would not discredit or discount these characteristics of the Hindu lower classes, they seem like the lassitude of virtue, or virtue necessitated by the melancholy of lassitude ; whereas the extraordinary patience, endurance, and at he same time cheerfulness, of the Chinese, are the characteristics and accompaniments of a singularly active, diligent, and hardworking race—not the patience of enforced submission, but the patience of intelligent activity. Watch the arrival of the early morning steamer at Shanghai or Ningpo, for instance, with 800 or 1,000 passengers on board, or of river and coasting craft yet more crowded. They have been patient all night with the discomforts of a rolling and pitching ship, of close air, and sardine-like packing of their persons and goods ; and they disembark by the narrow gangways still good-humoured, and if struggling at times for place and foothold, yet still patient and enduring in the process. On the shore, cramming and almost blackening the broad landing-stage and its approaches, friends come down to welcome the visitors, maintaining a precarious foothold amongst a dense mass of coolies with poles and ropes for the carriage of the luggage and baggage and bundles of the passengers. They have stood there for two hours in driving rain or snow, kept back by barriers and masterful local police with bamboo rods ; and when the barriers are loosened, and the officials step

aside, the coolies like an avalanche bear down on the landing-stage and the bedraggled passengers, elbowing one another, and struggling for precedence, but still smiling, shouting, good-humoured, and patient, in light disappointment, or in over-burdened success.

It is now early October in a year of abnormal rain and flood. The whole plain is under water, and the late rice crop is submerged, and apparently ruined. But with infinite patience and cheerful hope, the Chinese husbandmen are harvesting in boats; and with minute toil they lift shock after shock out of the water, tie it to a tall stick, with the hope of wind and sun drying it, and so lift piecemeal the drowned harvest from its watery grave. In a neighbouring plain inundated by the great rainfall and waterspouts which we describe elsewhere, we passed in our native boat (in some places going over instead of under bridges, so deep was the water) village after village lying below the level of the canal, with their houses two or three feet deep in water. A barber's shop stood open, and we could look inside, and there sat a customer with his feet dangling in the wet, and the barber up to his knees—yet both cheerful, patient and merry in their misery. The Chinese are seldom in a hurry, and time does not seem to be much prized or husbanded by them; but very few of them can afford, or would care, to "stand all the day idle." Industry continuous, patient, and overcoming hindrances and obstacles and long-lasting discouragement, characterises the life of agriculturist, woodman and artisan alike. We have lain awake at night in some upland village in the spring

and early summer, and have listened to the ceaseless tramp and thud, and shaking of the loose paving stones, in the narrow pathway from the high hills to the market towns at their feet, of two thousand and more men and boys, carrying on their shoulders or slung between two men bamboo poles, or heavy piles of bamboo shoots. Old men are there with bent spines, young stalwart fellows with quick step, and boys eight or nine years old, all too young for such heavy toil, but forced to carry early to help the hand-to-mouth family expenses and earnings—their tender backs already bending, and never likely to straighten again. They sell or entrust these treasures of the hills to the merchants from the city, or dealers in the shops below, and turning their money into bags of rice or other necessaries, heavy laden again, they turn and mount the high passes, reaching home at sunset or later, to start again in the fourth watch. Yet they are all ready to greet a stranger or an acquaintance, not with complaints and angry resentment against their lot, but with a loud shout of cheerful and hopeful salutation.

The fishing industry demands and receives in full measure Chinese patience, diligence and skill. The nets which line the banks of the tidal rivers, fitted with bamboo frame-work, and dipped into the water at flood or first ebb-tide, expand as they touch the water and slowly sink, and close quickly and securely as they are sharply hauled up; and the fish are dipped out by a landing net. But we are not exaggerating when we aver that on an average nineteen throws out of every twenty are resultless in any catch worth the

labour. Yet the twentieth cast is made with unruffled patience; and patience and hope bring back the fishermen day by day to the same occupation, and often to the same spot. The very interstices and hollows in the walls and coping of the canals inside the city, below the water-line, are with this same industry searched by the hands and fingers of the fishermen in little skiffs, for loach or other small fish, which may be hiding there. The fishing in the deep sea and in arms of the sea up and down the 1,000 miles of the coast, swarming with fish, but also storm-swept and pirate-haunted, demands not patience only, but high courage and endurance. The advent of ocean-going and large coasting steamers brought with it grave danger and loss, and sometimes loss of life, to the fishermen on the coast, who in fine weather will spread their nets with floats far out to sea, and frequently across the normal track of steamers passing up and down the northern China Sea between Tientsin and Hongkong. A careful look-out is kept by the navigators of these steamers, and the floats are avoided where it is at all possible; but oftentimes at night, with no adequate signal lights from the fishermen, a great rent of ruin will be torn through these valuable nets, and the owners with shouts and cries will summon in vain the great vessels to stop and help them or compensate their loss. And then they patiently and cheerfully turn, when the steamer has gone by, to repair if possible the injury and to renew the dangerous and laborious task. Some of these fishing smacks (we know of a fleet 10,000 in number on the coast) are

at sea for nine months out of the year. They set sail with special invocations of the goddess of Sailors, the Star of the Sea, Kuan-yin, the goddess of Mercy, and they carry small flags at the mast-head blessed and supplied at the idol temples. Some of these brave, hardy and patient men are learning now to pray to and to thank the Lord of storms, by Whose word the wind arises, and Who can command peace and stillness; and they carry the Cross as their guiding flag of benediction.

One fears sometimes that the Westernising of China, and her too precipitate adoption of Western appliances, and methods of education, and modes of thought, may make China lose, to her great deprivation and our own, her noble and delightful characteristics of courtesy, of good, and in the highest sense gentlemanly, manners, and of regard for age and authority. The naturalness, and in no sense the affectation, of the honorific titles they will attach, not to your name, and home and country alone, but to your very aches and pains, is a remarkable feature in a people so arrogant, and so independent, and so dominant in their past theories, and beliefs, and treatment of the outer world. And they are seldom neglectful or unwilling to welcome, even at most inconvenient hours, strangers as well as friends benighted or in distress. We were admitted on one occasion past closing hours into an inn, in the heart of the mountains, crowded with traveller guests in one common room, some in bed, some proceeding thither, some still at supper. And this apparition of a stranger and a

foreigner could not check the outflow of courteous welcome and willing entertainment. The interest and courtesy went so far as to induce those who were in bed to rise and listen till near midnight to the foreigner's divine message. We have been guided during a twenty miles' walk on a dark and windy night, and through an unfriendly region, in perfect safety and with great courtesy, by men who had never seen us before, and who would receive no reward for their forty-mile walk, which would end only at dawn, but hearty thanks and a single dollar. But now returning to the city and the house from which we emerged for our country experience, this same characteristic of patient industry, bringing high achievement in arts and crafts, with sometimes rude and apparently insufficient tools and appliances, meets us. We might linger at every shop door, or enter and examine the goods displayed in the course of production, and the same impressions would be left on the mind. The beauty or quaintness of design, and the depth and thoroughness, and at the same time the delicacy of the work in wood and ivory carvings, and then the simplicity and roughness and yet efficacy of their tools, are most remarkable and significant. Carved ivory balls are made, containing nine or ten other balls, of diminishing size one within the other.* Their sculpture, also, bold, artistic, true in balance and proportion, ranges from gigantic images of Buddha in stone, and couchant panthers, or standing camels, elephants, and human figures guarding the approach to the great

* Giles.

Ming tombs, and from the balustrades of temple bridges and staircases, and the buttresses and bosses of their splendidly proportioned bridges, down to beautiful tracery of fruits and flowers in stone, and military or bridal processions. The well-dressed stone of their tombs and houses, wrought by the ceaseless patient tapping by hammer and adze of the granite slabs—and all this without the appliances of great Western masters in sculpture or painting to help and guide them—shows how China's art in Chinese patient and intelligent hands has developed and lived on. There are small but suggestive specimens, perhaps, in the home we have been describing of the highest art of the Chinese, such as a small bronze. And that reminds us of one of the most ancient of Chinese artistic productions, for the art of casting bronze was brought to a high pitch of excellence seven or eight centuries before the Christian era. Here again is an insignificant but perchance ancient and precious piece of porcelain*, reminding us that a specimen of the almost matchless porcelain of the Ming dynasty has recently been sold for £5,000. Porcelain was discovered and manufactured sixteen centuries ago, leaving all European attempts hopelessly outclassed. There will be gleams also in the dress jacket of your host, or in the skirts and mantle of the lady of the house (who will, perchance, especially in these modern days, welcome you with her husband into the parlour), of the wealth of silks and satins, flowered or plain,

* Porcelain derives its name from the old Italian *porcellana*, a cowry, and especially the nacre or mother-of-pearl in the shell.

wrought with toil and infinite patience in the rough looms in the alley-ways, whose treadles, working all day and far into the night, you can hear hard by ; while the splendour of embroidery may be displayed, with no "second price," in a neighbouring shop. The production of silk is mentioned by Mencius, B.C. 372–289.

We have been accustomed to estimate Chinese drawing and painting only as grotesque and curious, from conventional delineations of dragons and heroes on temple walls or *Yamên* gates, or of bridges and willow trees on crockery, and to think that painting as an art, and a fine art, too, is hardly thought of as in a true sense a Chinese acquirement. Yet the art as an art, and not merely as an industry, must have taken root, and that probably largely indigenous, though with some early Indian and Greek influence, at least early in the Christian era ; for we have literary records of the art as old as the fifth century A.D. ; and a book entitled *Hereditary Paintings of Celebrity*, giving an account of heirloom paintings in the author's family, and biographical notices of celebrated painters, dates from the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) ; and another smaller work traces the art in different schools from the third to the fourteenth century A.D. There is a painting (probably genuine) by Ku K'ai-chih, of the fourth century, to be seen in the British Museum*. Wang Wei, poet, scholar, artist, flourished A.D. 699–759 ; and the very historical fact of the existence and pursuit of the art as an art 1,000 years and more ago, added to the parallel fact of

* Cf. "*The Times*" *Literary Supplement*, July 18, 1913, p. 302.

the real splendour and brilliancy and softness of Chinese colours, and the artistic boldness and dashing accuracy of outlines and delineations, necessarily makes us feel, as Wylie expresses it, that, notwithstanding absence of, or error in the perspective as well as stiffness and conventionality in too much of modern Chinese art, there is no permission, in historical honesty, to condemn her ancient and more recent art indiscriminately and with contempt.

"Many of our finest specimens [of studies of birds]" observed G. Tradescant Lay, in his very early studies of Chinese life (A.D. 1841), "are tame and lifeless; while those of the Chinese are full of vitality, however rudely they may be executed in some of their details."

The writer is acquainted with a Chinese artist whose drawing gives almost as much the air of movement to his figures as a cinematograph could do, and whose colouring is simply admirable in tone and delicacy.

"In the domain of painting," writes Professor Giles,* "we are only just beginning to awake to the fact that in this direction the Chinese have reached heights denied to all save artists of supreme power, and that their art was already on a lofty level many centuries before our own great representatives had begun to put brush to canvas."

And again, quoting a leading art critic, referring to the painters of the tenth and eleventh centuries:

"To the Sung artists and poets, mountains were a passion, as to Wordsworth. The landscape art thus

* *The Civilization of China*, p. 120.

founded, and continued by the Japanese in the fifteenth century, must rank as the greatest school of landscape which the world has seen,"

These greater Chinese artists unite in dismissing fidelity to outline in landscape as of little importance compared with reproduction of the spirit of the object, the vitality and soul of the original. The fantastic side of Chinese painting is thus condoned, and in a measure explained, by the assertion that both in poetry and in painting "suggestion" and "impressionism" are the keynotes to these arts, and not Pre-Raphaelite minuteness or photographic fidelity.

The potter's art and ceramic manufacture generally, in earthenware, are probably more ancient than the finer development, the yet ancient porcelain, to which we have alluded above; so is also the art of glass-blowing, if we may (as we probably may not) credit the genuineness and authenticity of the Chinese snuff-bottles, discovered by Rosellini in Egyptian tombs. The beautiful Chinese lacquer work is apparently more modern. The uses of pottery are manifold. We find china kettles, pans, teapots and cups, some rough and thick, some exquisitely fine; water-jars under the shoots of the eaves, of all sizes, some four feet in diameter; flower-pots, some glazed with decorations, some plain. Fine tiles glazed blue or green or yellow, for temple and palace roofs, are made of stone ware; but the ordinary tiles for roofing or flooring are burned from brick clay. The province of Kiangsi is specially celebrated for its crockery, and also for the art of riveting, so fine, so

true, that the crack or puncture is almost obliterated by this art.

We bid farewell now to our friend's home and its surroundings, and as we go, let it be to the strains of music—music which will linger in our ears, now as haunting echoes of 3,000 years, now as the dirge and sigh over what may be (in China's precipitate pursuit and adoption of the new, and discarding of the old) the passing of this ancient and truly national art. Chinese music used to be the despair of would-be connoisseurs, and the vaunted possession of the truly omniscient Dr. Whewell. But it has yielded both treasure and melody and keen interest to more recent scholarly research ; and we add to this chapter, not interwoven with it, but as an appendix, a memoir on the subject, as one of the sciences and arts of passing and changing China, which we cannot afford to lose.*

Ceremonies and Music—these may seem to have been, perhaps, in the life of ancient China, the most important of all things. There were rules of propriety to guide a man to the right and seemly manner in which to meet every situation of his life. And music was the inner force by which this outward form of reverent and comely action was inspired—music, we seem to feel, not merely of drum and bell, of psaltery and flute, but of harmonious thought and word and deed. Music thus was held a thing not only to be minutely regulated and carefully

* A great part of this memoir appeared in *The Musical Times*, March, April, 1907, written by A. C. Moule.

performed, but as itself the great regulating influence in state and family and individual life. One of the most famous instruments of antiquity was named, they say, from the power which it had to restrain the evil passions. When we remember this it is not surprising to find that Confucius, the great restorer of the ancient ways of virtue, was a lover of music ; and there is something very fascinating in the thought of the master as an enthusiastic musician, not merely valuing the political and moral uses of the art, but himself singing and playing, and, when he heard great music, deeply moved. Already in his day the true old music was growing scarce. About a century later, as we learn from the protest of Mencius, vulgar modern music had supplanted the ancient even in royal performances. But it was not perhaps until the third century B.C. that the old art was lost beyond hope of recovery.

" How to play music may be known," said Confucius, instructing the grand music-master of his own too degenerate State. " At the commencement of the piece, all the parts should sound together. As it proceeds, they should be in harmony, severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion."*

We wish he had told us in more detail " how to play music " ; we long to learn what the grand music-master, who probably, like most of his profession then, was blind, taught, or rather should have taught. But we seem to be doomed to disappointment. What has been recovered,

* Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. I., p. 27.

largely, we think, through the research of Tsai Yü,* is some not very certain knowledge of the scales in use, and of the instruments on which the music was performed.

The earliest account of the invention of the scale is found in Lü Pu-wei's *Ch'un Ch'iu* (B.C. 239), where it is said:

"Once upon a time Huang Ti ordered Ling Lun to make musical pipes (*lü*). Ling Lun went from west of Ta-hsia to the north of Yüan-yü and took bamboos from the valley of the River Hsieh (to make the pipes)."

And in a later chapter we have a correct but not at all detailed account of the chromatic scale formed of a progression of fifths.† Tsai Yü, who dismisses the common fables of the invention of this or that instrument by one or other of the mythical sovereigns of antiquity with contempt, seems barely to mention this story of the invention of the chromatic scale. His desire was to restore a scientific scale which would conform to the few meagre hints of notes or scales to be found in ancient books; and the conclusions he reached were that the natural scale must be one formed from a progression of fifths first derived from the harmonics of an open pipe, and that this was the only chromatic scale really known in the last three centuries before Christ. The earliest detailed accounts of a scale preserved to us are in Huai-nan

* Tsai Yü, who has been made familiar to European students of Chinese music by P. Amiot's *Mémoire sur la Musique des Chinois*, was a prince of the Imperial house of the Ming dynasty. His book, *Lü lü Ching i* was published in 1596.

† *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*, Ch. V., VI.; *cf.* Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques*, tom. III., pp. 643, 637.

Tzŭ and the *Shih Chi*, both of the latter half of the second century. The *Shih Chi* gives the measurements of pipes to produce an untempered chromatic scale with a great degree of accuracy, Huai-nan Tzŭ so inaccurately that his figures approach to even temperament, and are quite unfairly seized upon by Tsai Yü to show that some tradition of even temperament still survived at that time. For by study of the ancient books and by learned calculations and experiments Tsai Yü had convinced himself that the ancient Chinese scale had not been derived from a progression of fifths, but artificially based on the principle of even temperament.

To return now to Ling Lun and his bamboo pipes and untempered chromatic scale. M. Chavannes * has examined the evidence carefully, and points out first that the scale is the Pythagorean scale, and secondly, that the story suggests that Ling Lun went to a distant country to find it. Now, Greek civilisation of a sort existed in Bactria in the third century before Christ, and the question naturally is : Can we connect the places named in the story with Bactria ? Ta-hsia is indeed the very name given to the newly-discovered kingdom of Bactria at the end of the second century B.C., and at the same time the name Kun-lun (which is substituted for the unknown Yüan-yü in later versions of the story) was given to the mountains which are still so called. But in the third century the evidence for the existence of intercourse between Bactria and China is of the slightest, the position of Kun-lun was not known, and Ta-hsia had

* *Mém. Hist.*, tom. III., pp. 230–319, 630–645.

been regularly applied to a part of what is now Shansi, though once (B.C. 651) referred to as " in the west " and in close connection with the sandy desert. M. Chavannes' conclusion—that the story of the primeval mission of Ling Lun was invented in the third century and preserves for us the name of the country from which the Greek scale had then actually been brought—is tempting, and is unhesitatingly accepted by some scholars.* We may at any rate admit with Tsai Yü that the untempered chromatic scale is foreign to Chinese music, and that it was in vogue and was first described in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. M. Chavannes' further contentions that the word *lü* meant a bell and not a pipe, that the names afterwards applied to the notes were at first names of untuned bells, and that no chromatic scale was known in China before the third century, perhaps need more investigation.

Putting aside for a moment the date of Ling Lun's mission, we may notice that the story hints at a truth which is insisted on by scientific musicians to-day, that scales are derived from instruments, and instruments not made, originally, to play known scales. So Ling Lun is supposed to have made himself a flute at random, and to have taken its note as the foundation of the scale.

* It would really suit his purpose better to regard Ta-hsia as having its normal meaning, Shansi, and to make Ling Lun travel from " west of Shansi " *westwards* to the Kun-lun on the borders of Sogdiana and Bactria, rather than *eastwards* from " west of Bactria." An older generation of scholars, I believe, regarded the story of Ling Lun as pointing to a period when the Chinese lived *west* of the Kun-lun. The point of both theories is, of course, the equivalence of Ta-hsia and Bactria, for which there seems to be no evidence at a date as early as B.C. 239.

The note was called *Huang-chung*, or " yellow bell," and was equivalent, according to Tsai Yü's calculation, to D above the middle C. Whether Tsai Yü is right or wrong in imagining that the primitive scale derived from a bamboo pipe was very early given up in favour of one of even temperament, there is certainly a tradition of transposition maintained to this day (certain keys being assigned in the state music to certain seasons or months), which is not inconsistent with the words of ancient books, and it would be interesting to know if this also can be traced to Greece. The mathematical treatment of the scale which was familiar in the second century B.C., may have given rise to the belief, if it were not derived from the fact, that the pipe which gave the note *Huang-chung* was the foundation, not only of music, but of all measures of length, capacity, or weight.

The notes of the octave below and the octave above the original or " normal " octave were known and named. But besides the thirty-six notes of fixed pitch thus obtained, there was another scale—the well-known " five notes." This pentatonic scale no doubt preceded (perhaps by centuries) the complete series of twelve notes ; but as early as it has been traced, the names seem generally to indicate not fixed notes, but the relative positions of the notes in the scale, corresponding namely to our *tonic*, *supertonic*, *mediant*, *dominant* and *submediant*, as, for instance, F G A C D. This was afterwards enlarged to seven notes by the addition of B (not B flat) and E.

Modern popular music uses several different keys, but

little or no attention seems to have been paid to them by foreign students, and we cannot be sure whether the difference between one key and another is merely a difference of pitch or involves also a different succession of intervals.

Compositions, it should be understood, do not wander from the limits of the diatonic scale, and there is perhaps no evidence that the Chinese have ever used their knowledge of the twelve divisions of the octave except for purposes of transposition. The keys in modern music are defined, not by the use of the ancient note names, but by the position of the *dominant* (*ch'ê*) on some instrument—generally the transverse flute. The two extra notes (as B and E) added to the scale seem to have never become universally popular, though it is said that they are not uncommonly used in the north, and it may be broadly stated that the pentatonic scale, approximately as it is given above, is and has been continuously since a very remote date the characteristic Chinese scale. While this is the case, the ancient names of the five notes long ago gave place to names borrowed from a foreign scale which was introduced, it is said, by the Mongol tribes with which China had constant intercourse of peace or war for ages until the whole country was conquered by Kublai Khan near the close of the thirteenth century. The introduction of this foreign scale was, we may be sure, a gradual process to which it would be hard to give a date. What is important is to notice that it was from the first a seven-note scale, practically the same as the modern European diatonic scale ; that is to say, that if

we use only the white notes of the piano, while the seven notes of the ancient native scale must begin on F, the first note of the Mongol scale is C. But there are indications that the scale, like the nation, conquered the conqueror. The outward form was changed, but the scale remained the same. First a new note (*kou*) was invented to represent the augmented fourth of the old scale; but this was too artificial a device, and the name is said to be now quite forgotten. The required result was obtained, nevertheless, by regarding the fourth note of the new scale as tonic instead of the first, and of this arrangement many incidental traces may be found in various music books. On the other hand, Tsai Yü very carefully gives the Mongol scale, though using the ancient notation,* as the scale of an almost prehistoric flute.

So much for the scales. What of the instruments on which the music was played and from some of which it was perhaps derived? First come—relics surely of a very early age—a square tub and a couching tiger, curious symbolic instruments of wood used for beating time (to this day a most conspicuous feature of Chinese music), or to mark the beginning and end of a performance. Gongs, made not as now, of brass or bronze, but of sonorous stone, were well known, and were used singly or in chimes of

* There seems to be nothing at all like staff notation in China, nor any attempt to indicate the sound of a note by the *position* of the written symbol, but notes are represented by words written just as other words are written. For many classical instruments ingenious special symbols or tablatures have been used, but they are always written in straight lines like words.

sixteen or more. Chimes of bells, too, were common ; * the usual form being of a strange flattened shape with no clapper. Bells with wooden clappers were also in use, but were perhaps not regarded as musical instruments. Of drums, the commonest variety seems to have been barrel-shaped, attaining sometimes to a great size, and generally supported on an upright post which passed through the body. A modification of this arrangement survives in the pedlar's common rattle-drum. There was, too, a straight-sided drum called *po-fu*, which has disappeared.

The ancient wind and stringed instruments were few. The most important of the former was the *yo*, a vertical flute. This instrument, regarded by the Chinese as the origin of all music, was a single open pipe with three finger-holes. The pipe was twenty inches long and half-an-inch in bore, and the finger-holes were three, five, and seven inches respectively from the lower end. The scale of this flute begins D E F♯ G♯, and it is strange that Tsai Yü should give a special fingering to produce G♮, so substituting, as has been already noticed, the Mongol or European for the ancient native scale. The *yo* was gradually modified into a whistle called *ti*. There were also pandean pipes (*hsiao*), and a very strange transverse flute called *ch'ih*. Two more wind instruments,

* This represents the Chinese view. M. Chavannes maintains that these chimes cannot have existed before the third century. A large number of Chou dynasty bells and gongs were found in Shansi in the twelfth century, of twelve different sizes, but it is not clear that they formed a complete scale. Cf. *Lü-lü Ching i*, IV., f. 62.

both interesting, complete the list: the *hsüan*, a little resonator of baked clay not three inches long, and shaped like an egg with the big end cut off, with a blow-hole at the apex and five finger-holes symmetrically arranged in the sides; and lastly the well-known organ, *shêng*. This organ consists of a small cup-shaped air-chamber, into which are fitted little bamboo pipes with free reeds. At present it is made with only thirteen or fourteen speaking pipes, but some of the old varieties seem to have had as many as twenty-four or even thirty-six pipes. After a life of some three millenniums in the East, the free reed was at length introduced into Europe in the eighteenth century.

Two large psalteries, the *ch'in*, with seven strings, and the *shê*, with twenty-five, are perhaps the only stringed instruments that belong to the really ancient epoch. The strings of the *shê* gave only one note each, but on the *ch'in* thirteen inlaid studs of gold marked the points where the strings should be stopped. But the scale thus produced is unlike the theoretic Chinese scale, and the *ch'in*, with its thirteen studs, and the little organ with its strangely tuned thirteen reeds, suggest an unexplored region in the history of Chinese music.

Little is known of the history of popular music. It is important to remember that till near the end of the fourteenth century China had constant intercourse not only with the bordering tribes of Mongols, but with more distant India, Arabia, and Persia, and sometimes even with Europe. Later she came into touch with Europe through Portuguese traders and missionaries, and

through the East India Company. Her supposed ancient contact with America seems to have left little or no trace on her own music, or on that of the Indians. As regards the *ch'in*, however, Tsai Yü, who is very severe on modern and foreign introductions, seems to have no suspicion that the thirteen studs are anything but ancient and correct.

Music in China has rarely been purely instrumental, and seems indeed to have been confined for centuries to chanting of hymns and prayers and singing of secular songs. The hymns, at least, were not only accompanied by instruments, but were illustrated by a troop of dancers with postures appropriate to each word. This posture-dancing is still done at the state religious ceremonies with splendid and picturesque effect by thirty-six boys clad in gold and scarlet and blue. As a connecting-link between these two classes of sacred and profane music, has grown up gradually the music of the theatre, which is now in popular estimation the most important music of all. Theatrical performances are, over a great part of China, connected with religious festivals, and take place often in the fore-court of a temple, while, on the other hand, they seem to supply amateur musicians with much of their material. Music as a profession is not now regarded as wholly reputable, but it is common to hear men singing snatches of theatre songs as they go along the streets or country lanes, and amateur instrumentalists are many, both among the poor and the better educated classes. We listened once, almost entranced, to a boatman on the inner waters of the Chekiang province

declaiming with clear strong voice and tune and rhythm, for more than an hour at night, a poem of short cantos in praise of Buddha. Keeping time with the sway of the boat and the stroke of his long oar, the sound over the still waters and under the silent sky was astonishingly moving and impressive. Another of these foot-boatmen entertained us once by a whistle of singular melody and elastic fulness and sweetness.

The majority of modern popular instruments, with the exception of some of the drums and one or two flutes, appear to be of foreign origin. Some, indeed, like the transverse flute and perhaps the pear-shaped guitar (*p'i-p'a*), may fairly claim to have become naturalised after two thousand years of use. The pipe (*kuan*), a cylindrical tube with double reed, had already won a place for itself in the state ritual eight or nine centuries ago. The double reed with conical tube (*so-na*, perhaps the Persian *zourna*), is probably a later introduction, and the single reed, still only found in various rudimentary toys, is later yet. A Persian harp is seen in the early Buddhist paintings brought to England by Mr. Stein, but no form of harp seems ever to have been successfully introduced into China. The fiddle came probably from India. In a list of instruments published c. 1300 A.D. we seem to catch it lately arrived in an early stage of developement—a thing with two strings, between which was put a thin strip of bamboo for a bow. The instrument, though much improved, has practically never got beyond two strings, and the horsehair with which the bow is now strung, still passes between the strings.

Though its introduction is thus comparatively recent, the fiddle has won great popularity, and no instrument is now more often heard in the hands of amateurs or on the stage.

Whether composition is taught or studied as a profession may be doubted. That there have been famous composers is certain, but they have been perhaps no less self-taught than the great poets. Certain instruments, especially the guitar called *three strings* (*san-hsien*), are taught now not so much by, as to, blind men. For the rest the art of playing seems to be privately taught, or learnt from books, or picked up, and perfected by unwearied practising.

Of the result, as we know it, it is impossible to give an adequate idea in words. Of anything like counterpoint there seems to be no trace. On certain instruments —notably the reed organ, dulcimer, and the ancient psalteries—two notes, generally with the interval of a fourth, fifth, or octave, are played together or in rapid alternation, and there harmony ends. Chinese singing, they say, cannot be imitated by Western voices, nor Chinese music written in Western notation or played on Western instruments. The music has been described as in a key which is neither major nor minor, the voice is a kind of falsetto, hard to reproduce. At the temple services are heard slow, solemn, monotonous chants accompanied, very quietly for the most part, by a great variety of instruments. A theatre, whether in a building or in the open court of a temple, seems at first a very pandemonium; the hubbub of the audience, greetings

shouted to friends descried far off on the other side of the house, cries of the hawkers of refreshments, incessant chatter of everyone—all this is easily and frequently drowned by the clash of cymbals and the clatter of drums and castanets on the stage. Yet if you manage to hear the singing—and there are actors who will force you to hear them through everything—it will often repay the trouble. At its best it is a really wonderful exhibition of vocal power and skill. It is a common thing at Pekin, the chief home of actors, to see a man standing with his face against the city wall and yelling like one demented ; he is an actor practising his part and strengthening his voice. This is a familiar sight and sound also at Ningpo, which is quite a theatrical centre. Early on hot summer mornings, with few people about, men will stand by the hour under the city wall, and along the river bank, shouting with prolonged intonation, as if possessed or in delirium. And then there is the fiddler with his futile-looking little instrument. Persuade a first-rate performer to play to you alone, away from the uproar of the theatre, and you will find a fulness and strength and yet refinement of tone of which you would not think the fiddle capable, and in the player a dexterity and touch of which a Joachim might have no need to be ashamed ; while the music is full of phrases of fascinating beauty.

Music cannot, perhaps, be said to have made much progress of recent years. Tsai Yü's great effort to revive correct and, as he believed, ancient music in the sixteenth century, was a failure. A century later a book

was published which is still solemnly followed in the state services, compiled by a man who seems to have had the slightest possible claim to be called a musician. The instruments are rudimentary in principle, and very often clumsily made.

When all is said China is, in her own sense, a very musical nation. Music enters into almost all the concerns of her life, and her people find in musical sounds a meaning and joy which we, perhaps, may never know.

CHAPTER III

The Origin and History of the Chinese People

The words "these from the land of Sinim," in Isaiah xlix. 12, are considered by many scholars to refer to the Chinese. The Septuagint reading is remarkable—"these from the land of Persia"; and this reading is probably to be accounted for by the fact that, at the time of the composition of the Septuagint, the China trade with Egypt passed through Persia. From an apparently similar reason, namely, its position as a place of transport or an emporium of Eastern trade, Samarkand was early called Chin. But the word Chin here is, we are told, Indian or Persian, and was probably not an original Chinese name of China, transferred to Samarkand by trade, but a name coined in Samarkand and used of the country from which the beautiful woven and dyed silks of those days were imported. Another variation of the name seems to have been Tsin; and so it appears on the famous Nestorian tablet of Hsi-an fu, where the name of China is written in Syriac Tsin-stan, or Tsin Land. But since the names Tsin, Sin, Zin and Sinai are used of deserts lying south of Palestine, the translator of the Vulgate apparently identified "Sinim" with one of these, and rendered the passage quoted above thus—"these from the land of the South."

He was probably mistaken; and the translators of the Septuagint were right, at least in looking for Sinim somewhere to the east of Palestine. The connection between Persia and China is seen from Chinese annals to be very ancient indeed; but as Persia was the medium through which the trade of China reached the West, it is not difficult to understand how confusion might arise, in the Western mind, between the two. It is interesting also to note that in the laws of Manu, the Hindu legislator, the "Chinas" are mentioned in connection with the Persians and other nations and tribes; though there is no proof that the Chinese are indicated by that name.

By the geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century), North China is called Serica, or the Land of Silk; and South China, the Land of the Sinæ—the latter name being possibly derived from Tsin. In the map of the world by H. Kiepert, as known to the ancients about the end of the second century A.D., a town Sera is put down as *urbs regia Sericæ, sc. China septentrionalis*; whilst another called Thinæ, is described as *urbs regia Sinarum, sc. China meridionalis*. Ptolemy's interesting, but in places very incorrect projection, gives the same names of Serica and Sinæ, but places Sinæ farther south.

It must be remembered that the name China was not anciently applied by the Chinese themselves to their great land as a whole. In later Buddhist writings we do find the name *Chih-na* applied to China, it is true; and this is the Chinese transcript of the Sanskrit *China*

which was itself derived most probably from *Ch'in*, the name of the Chinese state which overthrew the old feudal system and established the empire in the third century before Christ.* But as a rule the Chinese have, since ancient times, designated their land by some such title as "Beneath the Sky," or "The Regions bounded by the Four Seas." The name in most common use, and most familiar also to outsiders, is Chung Kuo, the Middle Kingdom—a title first applied to the sovereign state of Chou, but afterwards to the whole land of China Proper, with the assumption, asserted or implied, that China is the ruling centre of the earth, all other states being tributary and subordinate.

We pass now from the name of the land to the history of the race that has inhabited it for so long. There is a consensus of opinion amongst most modern scholars to the effect that nothing is known, or can be with any degree of probability surmised, concerning the origin of the Chinese. It is said that no trace of the Chinese has been found in the history of any country until their own records reveal them to us as settled, about 2700 B.C., in the valley of the Ho or Yellow River, that is to say within the bounds of China Proper. Thus Professor Parker writes :†

"When first the Chinese are heard of (and they themselves are the sole authority, for no one else records anything about them), they occupied the valley of the

* *T'oung-pao*, déc. 1912, pp. 727–742. L'origine du nom de "Chine," by P. Pelliot.

† *China : Past and Present*, p. 4.

Yellow River and its tributaries as tillers of the soil, paying to their rulers a portion of the produce as taxes in grain, silk, and hempen cloth. Despite speculations touching their possible Babylonian or Akkadian origin, there exists no evidence whatever to show how they got there ; but there they certainly were 2700 years before Christ."

And again :*

" It is a striking fact, that writings upon soft clay, afterwards baked, were not only non-existent in China, but have never once been mentioned or conceived of as being a possibility. This fact effectually disposes of the allegation that Persian and Babylonian literary civilisation made its way to China, for it is unreasonable to suppose that an invention so well suited to the clayey soil (of *loess* mud with cementing properties) in which the Chinese princes dwelt could have been ignored by them, if ever the slightest inkling of it had been obtained."

This reason by itself is scarcely as conclusive as Professor Parker states ; for inscriptions on bricks are not unknown in China. For instance, the name of the illustrious lady devotee, who twelve hundred years ago erected the great Pagoda of Heavenly Investiture at Ningpo, is preserved still in the myriads of baked bricks which remain after the pagoda's chequered history of fall and restoration. These, it is true, are merely bricks inscribed with the name of the august foundress, and not used for more elaborate inscriptions or correspondence. But then again, it is conceivable that the Chinese,

* *Ancient China Simplified*, p. 89.

after long years and perhaps centuries of wandering in regions of Central Asia, where clayey soil was unknown, may, through disuse, have forgotten the Babylonian method of preserving records. Further, on their arrival in China, it would seem that they made use of other writing materials not much less durable and possibly, to their literary conception, more artistic and classical than mud, namely, silk and the surface of the bamboo. The oldest writing on bamboo was by perforated characters, and dates from very ancient times.

Again, the emphasis laid by Professor Parker, and also by Professor Giles and other eminent authorities, on the silence of the Chinese records with regard to their immigration from other lands, does not really prove anything beyond the fact that the ancient Chinese were silent on that point. The Chinese possess, indeed, according to the established views of their later chronologists, a legendary history stretching back for three million years to Pan-ku, who was first of all the undeveloped and unenlightened production of chaos, and then from him as a master-workman the world was developed. Now from 2852 B.C. begins the semi-historical period, including the life and legends of him who "began to be a husbandman," Shên Nung, "the Divine Farmer." The life of Yao also comes into this period, one of the two prominent models of regal power and integrity in China; the second regal ideal being Shun. The memory and light of these two seem to gleam afar in the shadowy depths of Chinese history as something clearer than myth. Yao, it is said, was an Emperor who encouraged

and stimulated astronomical science, and shared during his later years the supreme rule with Shun, called, like Cincinnatus, from the plough to assist the monarch now in the seventieth year of his reign. Shun was ploughing with an elephant and an ox on a hill, still pointed out near the city of Yü-yao, in Chekiang; and the river above that city divides into two small branches, bearing on their perpetual flow, in the names of Yao and Shun, the far-off echoes of those almost prehistoric times. During their long united reigns (2357-2205 B.C.) the great Yü faithfully served the throne by subduing the almost universal flood (2278 B.C.), and, on the death of Shun, succeeded him as Emperor and founder of the dynasty of Hsia. His reputed tomb stands about forty miles beyond the source of the rivers Yao and Shun, near the ancient city of Shao-hsing, and in the district of Kuei-chi, where after a regal progress through his dominions, Yü held a grand assembly of his subject nobles before his death. His memory, fame and work are on the lips of the Chinese to this day.

What historical basis there may be for the traditions connected with these three great names in early Chinese history we do not here discuss, but the history points to the fact that the Chinese were then well established not only in the valley of the Ho, or Yellow River, but also just south of the Yangtse. We gather also that the civilisation and organisation of the race were already of a high order; that husbandry was much esteemed; and that the rulers contended successfully with the great floods that from time to time have

been China's bane. Is it not conceivable that a people who had reached such a position of security and prosperity would be desirous to obliterate all record of their foreign origin, their sudden exodus from their distant home, it may be in the Babylonian plain, and their humiliating wanderings in many lands? If this supposition is correct, it is easy to understand why the period beyond Yao, Shun and Yü is wrapped in an impenetrable mist of legend and myth. Legend and myth are not necessarily anterior to the beginnings of real history, but may well have been the inventions of ambitious historians anxious to conceal, by this method of glorification, the real events in the exotic birth and obscure beginnings of the nation's life.

In applying such a theory to the origin of the Chinese race, we must remember that, after all the ethnological researches of modern science, the broad lines of the early history of mankind, given in the Book of Genesis, remain our surest guide. The Deluge, if not universal over the area of the earth, was universal over the then inhabited regions of the earth. Science is not conclusive as to extra-diluvial races of men; and the story of a universal Deluge appears in the traditions of nearly every nation. Again, the account given in the Book of Genesis of the recommencement of the human race after the Deluge, of the building of the Tower of Babel, and the subsequent confusion of tongues and dispersion of the nations, is still the most trustworthy and historical hypothesis on which to build any theory of national beginnings. And on this hypothesis rests the theory that the Chinese race

is not indigenous to China, but spread thither from elsewhere, most probably from the Babylonian plain. Secular history may be entirely silent on this point; the myths and legends of early Chinese history may contain no reference to any theory of immigration; there may be no positive proof of any Chinese connection with the arts and accomplishments of the earliest Babylonian civilisation. But these facts should not be allowed to override the authority and the reasonableness of the Bible narrative; and conservative opinion inclines to the old belief that the Chinese are an immigrant race.

It is interesting to note that no less an authority than Professor Max Müller writes thus on the origin of language:

"Nothing necessitates the admission of different independent beginnings for the material elements of the Turanian, Semitic and Aryan branches of speech; nay, it is possible even now to point out radicals which, under various changes and disguises, have been current in these three branches ever since their first separation."

One of the grandest results of modern comparative philology has been to show that all languages are but scattered indications of that primitive state of human intellect which a profound saying of William Humboldt's illustrates—"Man is man only by means of speech; and in order to invent speech he must be man already." The varieties of human speech, then, whether Chinese or others, have a common origin, and common origin of language points to a common origin of race. Professor Max Müller speaks, indeed, of the familiar

Bible dictum—"The whole earth was of one language and of one speech"—as "the natural, intelligible, convincing words of familiar Bible teaching"; while Niebuhr and others testify to the probability of the theory that the separation into different tongues and nations must have been by some such violent and sudden cause as that described in the story of the Tower of Babel.

It would seem, therefore, that we have the support at least of the science of philology in building our theory of the origin of the Chinese on the sure foundation of the sacred narratives of the Book of Genesis. We may suppose the tribe, or clan, which became the parents of the Chinese race, to have been present at the building of the Tower of Babel, and then, after the Dispersion, to have started on their travels, taking with them the memories and perhaps the implements of primal high art taught by Tubal or Tubal Cain, music and metallurgy and cognate arts, and the elements of the one language that they shared of old. Then the long wanderings and marches would prevent the elaboration of either arts or language or literature until they had reached a home—but would not obliterate all the memories nor entirely destroy the essences. The so-called aborigines of China who have lived on, some of them, especially the Miao-tzŭ and the Lolos, strangely unaffected by or sternly rejecting the idolatry of China's later cults, may have been the advance guard by some centuries of the great nation behind them, and have refused absorption into that irruption.

"I have elsewhere," writes F. C. Cook, the learned Editor of the Speaker's Bible (viz., in his Essay on the Rig Veda), "adduced facts for my belief that the Chinese, the only absolutely monosyllabic language of the world, represents the results of the most ancient emigration of a portion of the Japhetic races from their original home; losing, in fact, whatever progress had previously been made in the developement of language, as an inevitable result of long wearisome marches under circumstances of the utmost difficulty through desolate regions."*

It is worth noting here that the original picture-writing of the Chinese does form a link with other forms of primeval language; while such words as *Ti* for God, clearly allied to Θεός, *Deus* and *Deva*, and the mythical and semi-mythical accounts of the Creation and the Flood in Chinese literature, hint at, if they do not establish, the connection, however remote, of Chinese with other tongues and scripts.

Dr. Edkins believes the Chinese to be in some sense Hamites, and probably the descendants of Cush establishing the colonies in Asia spread thus far (Genesis x.); and further, that we are very much under the necessity of adding that the Chinese started on their Eastern pilgrimage late enough to bring with them some traces of the primitive Babylonian civilisation, and early enough to retain the features of the primeval monosyllabic language more distinctly than any other old linguistic family has been able to do. As he says: "The first great step in

* F. C. Cook, *Origin of Religions and Languages*, p. 307.

the developement of human speech was taken in the formation of the Chinese language." He thinks further that at about the time of the call of Abraham the Chinese were already established on the Yellow River under ruling chiefs, practising astronomy, agriculture, writing, and other ancient arts and sciences.

Dr. Legge appeals to the same Divine source of information as to the human race, to which we allude above; and reproducing from geographical and legendary hints the probable course of immigration, writes as follows in the Prolegomena to the *Shu-ching*: "About two thousand years before our Christian era, the Chinese tribe first appeared in the country, . . . It then occupied a small extent of territory, on the east and north of the Ho—the more southern portion of the great province of Shan-se [Shansi]. As its course continued to be directed to the east and south (though after it crossed the Ho, it proceeded to extend itself westwards as well), we may conclude that it had come into China from the north-west. . . . I suppose that . . . the tribe [broken off from the families of Noah's sons] . . . began to move eastwards, from the regions between the Black and Caspian seas, . . . Going on, between the Altaic range of mountains on the north and the Tauric range, with its continuations, on the south, . . . the tribe found itself at the time I have mentioned, between 40° and 45°, N.L., moving parallel with the Yellow River in the most northern portion of its course. It determined to follow the stream, turned south with it, and moved along its eastern bank . . . till it was stopped by the river . . .

turning again towards the east. Thus the present Shan-se [Shansi] was the cradle of the Chinese empire. The tribe dwelt there for a brief space consolidating its strength under the rule of chieftains, . . . ; and then gradually forced its way, east, west, and south, conflicting with the physical difficulties of the country, and prevailing over the opposition of ruder and less numerous neighbours."

Dr. Edkins (*China's Place in Philology*, p. 31) differs from Dr. Legge, thinking that the early Chinese came by the usual "highway," as he calls it, from Tartary to Kansu and Shensi, and thence on to Honan, the birth-place of T'ang, founder of the Shang dynasty; and into Chihli, the birth-place of Yao. M. Edouard Biot seems to agree with Dr. Legge about the colonisation of ancient China by this exotic immigrant race—the only difference being that Biot regards the ruder neighbours of the Chinese whom they found in the land as indigenous, and not as Legge stoutly asserts, and as we suggest above, also immigrants, but arriving from the great cradle of mankind earlier than the "black-haired" people. It may be objected here that these statements as to pre-historic China, and as to the origin of the Chinese people and language, are to a great extent conjectural. But they are conjectures which seem in harmony with Old Testament history, an historical not a conjectural guide; and they differ widely in value and reliability from assumption based on other assumptions.

But now imagining, and on no insecure ground, that the Chinese race have arrived about 4,000 years ago in

the area of their new home, can we imagine, again, from historic aid, and not from mere romance, what they brought with them, and what met them there? Dr. Ernst Faber, in a learned article on Prehistoric China, after declining, perhaps too dogmatically and with scarcely sufficient reason, to allow any authentic Chinese historical annals earlier than those of the feudal state of Lu (722 B.C., published and just possibly altered by Confucius about 240 years later), yet finds "a rich source of solid historical material unnoticed at our feet; namely, the Chinese written characters"; and he assures us that "the 100 or so elementary signs used 4,000 years ago and in our hands to-day can reveal to us with an extraordinary comprehension of detail the history of Chinese life at that remote period." The eminent Chinese scholar, M. Edouard Biot, in his *Researches into the manners of the ancient Chinese* according to the *Shih-ching* (the one of the ancient Classics whose authenticity is least contested)—"the national songs," as he calls them, "of the first age of China,"—brings the story of China and her manners and customs later down than do Faber's linguistic researches. The two together enable us—to quote M. Biot once more—not merely "at our ease," as he says, but "with eyes intent, to contemplate the spectacle of the primitive manners of that society." The oldest of these Odes belongs to the Shang dynasty, dating probably from the year B.C. 1719. It should be noted further that the China described in the ancient odes lay between N. Lat. 33°—38° and Long. 106°—109°, instead of the

present limits of China Proper so-called, 20°—40° N. Lat., and 100°—121° E. Long. The China of Chou reached thus barely half-way down from the Yellow River to the Yang-tse. The region farther south was regarded then as being infested by the "Southern Hordes."

Dr. Faber draws attention first of all to the astonishing fact that the 40,000 Chinese characters or words in K'ang-hsi's dictionary have been developed from elementary characters numbering not more than 100. These must not be confused with the 214 radicals under which those 40,000 are grouped in Chinese dictionaries, though some of the 100 are found in the 214. They are just simple characters which may form elements of other compound characters, but they themselves do not contain any other element. They are pictures pure and simple. And what do these, traced back to their original use and function, reveal as to prehistoric China? They may be grouped under five classes: Those relating to man, to animals, to plants, to inanimate nature, and to the products of human industry.

Littera scripta manet. K'ou shih fêng, pi shih chung, say the Chinese; "the character," ideographic or arbitrary as may be, "is *rooted deep*, but *words*," ἔπεα πτερόεντα, "are as *wind*." Now these special characters give us clear echoes of ancient history, not so much of the history which they, when further developed, recorded, but of the history which lies embedded in the characters themselves. First, then, let us concentrate our attention on the history of prehistoric China, silently uttered or

implied by these 100 or more elementary characters, the primal source of the 40,000 or so now existing. We gather from Dr. Faber's summary the following facts as to the state of China in the earliest days of the life of the people in their new home. Human society was already in a settled state. They had come into the partial possession of a new and permanent home, to be expanded indeed in all directions, but already capable of orderly settlement.

There was a chief designated by the word "great," *da* (according to the ancient pronunciation), still applied to mandarins (*ta jên*), and he had officers under him (*ch'ên*). Society was divided by families (*shih*), and the ancient names live on.

A second group of characters relating to the fauna of ancient China, while particularising the wild animals—tigers, deer, snakes also and rodents—mentions specially the principal list of domesticated animals—horses, sheep, pigs, oxen—as already in the service of man. Though wild horses, sheep, and goats, still to be seen in north-west China, and wild pigs everywhere, no doubt roamed over the hills and plains of ancient China, the domestication is plainly mentioned.

Dr. Faber thinks that a clear indication as to the residence of these ancient dwellers in China being far from the outer seas, is shown by the choice of the carp as a representative of fish. But the elementary character used for fish is used surely of the genus, not of the individual class.

He deduces a religious element or atmosphere from

the traces of divination connected with the tortoise, and from the incense cauldron.

The produce of the silk-worm was early known and valued, though the wonders of woven silk and satin came later. In the flora of ancient China trees and plants are carefully distinguished, but few are specified, only the melon amongst vegetables or fruit, and only the bamboo amongst trees. The bamboo, indeed, from prehistoric times has been used for every imaginable purpose. In this connection must be mentioned the celebrated Bamboo Books, discovered, it is said, in the tomb of the King of Wei who died 319 B.C., and written over in the small seal character with more than 100,000 words. Their genuineness and authenticity have been strongly doubted by scholars, but these annals so produced, and stretching back to legendary days, have their place in the accredited literature of China, and their account of the reigns of Yao, Shun, and Yü, and of their achievements, is more sober, and apparently more historical, than the narratives of the *Shu-ching*. The group of the flora of China is so meagre, however, compared with the fauna, that it suggests the belief that agriculture at that early time was less developed than the breeding of cattle, and than the chase. The early shelter and dwelling found in overhanging hills is perhaps indicated by the primeval form of the character for mountains—a thrice-jagged eminence—and a cliff and a dwelling seem identical in form. Again, the characters for fields (arable) and divided fields point to agriculture and small holdings as already introduced; while the

ambiguity about the character for divided fields lends itself to the rendering " wells," early introduced, even as in their ancient and original home, for purposes of irrigation.

The indispensable value of salt appears in the mention of salt land—not the sea-shore, for there is no *sound* even of the sea in these ancient symbols—but preserved and utilised salt plains. The absence of characters for stars and planets, when the sun and moon are mentioned, is noticeable and not easily accounted for, though a character formed of three dots and indicative of the fixed stars is given by some authorities.

The presence and use of fine and practical arts is clearly shown. Axes or hatchets, the carpenter's compass and rule, carving instruments (wood-carving, and that of a bold and yet artistic pattern 3,000 years old, is still to be seen in ancient temples); nails; dry measure; tiles and bricks; dishes, platters, and wine-jars; windows and doors; wheeled carriages; embroidery, in clothing—all these appear and tell of well-advanced civilisation, or rather the upbringing, when placed in a once foreign soil, of the useful arts and methods of civilisation learned in the cradle of the race.

Dr. Faber's explanation of the meagre allusions to religion, to the Supreme, and to worship, is disappointing. I have noticed above the allusions to divination and sacrifice, and perhaps to prayer, in these elementary characters, but God as a personal being and as the object of all true worship is not to be found; though, as we shall see in the immediately succeeding era, if we may

trust the Chinese historians who follow, the name of the Supreme appears and lives on. It is, I think, quite conceivable and quite in accordance with the theory of origin which we are following, that the early settlers in China distrusted their imperfectly-formulated language, at first, adequately to express the name and attributes of God, which Noah's sons and their wide-spreading descendants both before and after the Dispersion knew well. Their worship was confused perhaps by that very confounding of their language and speech, but emerged again from memory and the voice of the inner consciousness. God's image was not wholly erased, though so greatly blurred by the Fall and by the blunders of pride.

Now, turning to the records of ancient China preserved in the *I-ching*—the *Book of Changes*, the highest authority for everything relating to human affairs amongst the Chinese, and the only one of the classical books spared from destruction by Shih Huang-ti's decree—and more especially in the *Shih-ching*, or "Book of the first National Songs of the Chinese," and following here for these odes M. Edouard Biot's translation and notes, we have a continuation of that yet more remote history which the primitive characters of the language have revealed to us; not perhaps a continuous tale taking up the story from the point to which the elementary characters have brought us, but still, we may hope with M. Biot, representing in perfectly authentic narrative, and in a form simple and naïve, the manners of the Chinese in the purest way.

It is worth while noticing here that a written document is spoken of as presented by Yü to his sovereign

VII.—FU-HSI

[*To face p.* 141.

at the beginning of the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C. Dr. Legge believes the date of the earliest of the odes to be about the year 1700 B.C. The developement of the ideographic characters which succeeded the elementary characters, and developed later, and were succeeded in their turn by phonetic characters, is placed at the probable date of 1200 B.C., and the odes, therefore, if they are in any true sense genuine and authoritative, touch closely, and almost invade, the primitive period, and their sketch of ancient China must, on this supposition, form an invaluable contribution to the history ; only in the first case our history is drawn from almost stereotyped proofs, in the second case it depends on the more movable evidence of human authorship.

Quoting then, first of all, from an Appendix to the *Book of Changes*, we are informed that :

(1) In ancient times Pao Hsi (commonly placed in the twenty-ninth century B.C.) invented the eight trigrams and the knitting of string into nets for hunting and fishing.

(2) Shên Nung (twenty-eighth century B.C.) fashioned wood for the share, and bent wood for the plough-handle. Ploughing and weeding (the Chinese are an example to the whole world here, and the virtue of weeding is repeatedly insisted on in the *Odes*) were taught to all under heaven.

(3) He established midday markets in central places for barter and exchange.

(4) The Emperors Huang-ti, Yao, and Shun (twenty-seventh to twenty-third centuries B.C.) introduced seemly upper and lower garments.

(5) Canoes and boats, large and small, hollowed out of large trees, fitted with oars shaped from smaller wood, were introduced by these rulers.

(6) and (7) Oxen and horses were trained, and yoked to carts and chariots for traffic.

(8) and (9) The cities had double gates, and a clapper to warn against marauders.

(10) Pestle and mortar were introduced.

(11) Bows and arrows were bent and sharpened for the chase or for war, and "served to produce a feeling of awe."

(12) In the highest antiquity men made their houses (probably referring to a nomadic state) in caves during winter and in the open country during summer; and subsequently the present form of architecture was introduced—the ridge-beam above supported on poles and frame-work, with projecting eaves against wind and rain.

(13) Different methods for burying the dead were introduced.

(14) Government was carried on successfully in the highest antiquity by the use of knotted cords to preserve the memory of things; but in subsequent ages the sages substituted written characters and bonds. This method of recording events or transactions is still used by the T'u-fan or Hsi-fan in Tibet, and by the Miao-tzŭ in the Province of Kueichou.

Other ancient Chinese traditional records exist, some

of Taoist origin, some in the compendium of Chinese history from Fu-hsi (2852 B.C.) to the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1644), but they differ widely from one another. But, turning now to the *Shih-ching*, we see the Chinese three thousand years and more ago, apparently with fine physique, as is still seen, especially in the northern provinces. Though there is not much allusion to this subject in the *Odes*, yet from a passage in the works of Mencius, describing the height of King Wên as 6½ feet, King T'ang as 5 feet 10 inches, and the speaker in that passage as 6 feet 1 inch, and referring to such measurements as well above the average, we may conclude that the height of the Chinese has not much varied from ancient times. It is interesting to note that tallness in ladies was admired in prehistoric or semi-historic China.

Luxury and finery in dress, and even foppery, appeared early, and clothing, both for rich and poor, seems to have been as a rule ample and sufficient, with furs and silks; while caps of skin, set with precious stones, and cloth and leather shoes for summer and winter are also enumerated.

The northern climate and scenery of ancient China is hinted at again and again in the *Odes*; snow, and not rain, is prayed for to nourish the growing crops and moisten the ground; and snowstorms and frozen rain bending the trees are mentioned as phenomena of frequent occurrence.

House-building is described after the days of T'an-fu, the grandfather of the great King Wên, who lived, it is said, in a cavern like a potter's kiln, for there were then

no houses. The method of building house walls of adhesive earth, after ramming the foundations till they resemble cement, is discussed at length; and from watching similar processes with similar methods in quite modern Chinese homes and temples to-day one can hear afar over three thousand autumns the cries of the ancient workmen as they keep time, ramming down the earth between the confining planks.

China has had walled cities almost from the first, and these walls originally were of earth; and the substance of present city-walls—as a rule now faced within and without with brick or stone—is also earth; the broad moats, wet or dry, marking in fact the excavations of the masses of earth required for the wall.

The earlier buildings of the ancient Chinese are said in the *Odes* to have been demolished or interfered with by the Tartars.

The Hall of Ancestors is mentioned early in the *Odes*; and ancestral worship, with whatever primary significance, confronts us in the Sacrificial Odes of Shang, the earliest probably in the series, and throughout the *Shih-ching*. Side by side with this ambiguous worship we find that which was strangely silent in the primitive characters of the language (a silence, as we have suggested above—and we adhere to this belief—the result not so much of ignorance or Godlessness as of awe and the acknowledged poverty of early speech), namely mention of prayer, and "spreading of the letter of ancient complaints" before a possibly impersonal Heaven or High Heaven. Alternating with this phrase and

impersonating the only apparently impersonal, Ti, Sovereign God, is prayed to—the Elohim of the Hebrews, and singularly akin to Θεός, Deus, Deva—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit—or, more frequently, Shang Ti (Ha Elohim), the Supreme LORD, God alone, God in the High Heaven. Besides this we find Spirits mentioned, "a celestial hierarchy around Shang Ti, like the dignitaries around the King" (Biot), and worship and sacrifices were offered to all these—a mark one would conclude of decline already setting in from the ancient monotheistic faith. The degrees of worship, even as now in Roman Catholic nomenclature, may have differed—latreia, douleia, hyperdouleia—and the worshippers differed also in their rank and prerogatives. Shang Ti, the Divine Supreme Ruler, could be approached and addressed only by the earthly ruler, a custom and order observed in Chinese worship up to the threshold of recent changes. The spirits of Imperial ancestry such as the celebrated Hou Chi were also exclusively approached by the ruling sovereign (*see* King Hsüan's prayer, *Shih-ching, Decades of Tang*, Part iii, Book III, *Ode* iv). Then each family had its own tutelary ancestral spirits, to whom the family by a special representative and with attending devotees could pray, either invoking protection and blessing or pleading for intercession with the High God. Inanimate nature also—mountain, river, the solid ground, the rain, the thunder—had its spirits; and the people, debarred from worship of the far-off Supreme God, turned thus through ancestral devotion (the Apocrypha seems to trace the very origin of idolatry to the apotheosis of

Buddha by his father) to animism higher or lower. They worshipped the powers of God's nature—as they must have a god, and were not allowed to approach the High God. To this high subject (religious belief and worship) we return later. We notice these features here as revealed in the ancient odes.

The minute and elaborate description of Chinese life in the *Shih-ching*, adumbrated in the earlier primitive characters, points more to growth of expressions in language than to any special advance in civilisation, though this doubtless did evolve and expand as the surroundings of the people demanded. The musical instruments of ancient China, and the music specially used at their ancestral feasts to attract the notice of the hovering or soaring spirits—these are treated with great elaboration and reiteration in the odes.

Astronomical observations, a very ancient and accurate science of the Chinese, appear now in careful numeration. The Milky Way (the "Heavenly Han" or "Mankind in the Sky," as it may perhaps be rendered, the "Heavenly Stream" or the waterway for souls to Heaven) occurs several times. So does the planet Venus, with the constellation Lyra, and the supposed twenty-three divisions of the stellar world, with Hesper and Phosphor—these all too soon debased to augury and astrology. And from the simple elementary characters of male, female, child, family—suggestive but not quite positive—we find the historical narrative of the high sanctity and regulation of marriage established and in force during the earliest days.

The arts of peace, which Rogers in familiar lines ascribes as their chief glory to the Chinese—

> "A people numerous as the ocean-sands,
> And glorying as the mightiest of mankind,
> Yet where they are contented to remain:
> From age to age resolved to cultivate
> Peace, and the arts of peace—turning to gold
> The very ground they tread on, and the leaves
> They gather from the fields year after year."—

these peaceful arts and industries were accompanied, and in a sense protected, by the art of the chase, and by the greatest hunt of all, the art of war. Surrounded as the early settlers were by wild beasts and hostile tribes, the Chinese armies when taking the field hunted and fought by turns (Biot). Sometimes, as described in the *Odes*, the sovereign in person took the field; or civil war on a small scale occurred, one feudal prince warring against another. Their ancient chariots, and mailed warriors with helmets on, the chariot knight in the centre, his esquire on the right to hand him his arms, sword or javelin, or bow taken from its case of tiger-skin; the foot soldiers with breast-plate or shield and buskins; the assaults on fortified cities by hooked ladders, all pass before us in the *Odes*. Until the introduction of firearms in the early days of the thirteenth century, and long after that, the methods of warfare and its implements did not greatly differ from these methods three thousand years old.

The principles of government as described in the *Odes*, and obscurely hinted at in the character for *minister* in the elementary characters, were expanded and

manipulated to meet the growing area of Imperial rule, and have remained practically unchanged all through the legendary semi-historical and historical periods—including the great dynasty of Chou, lasting from 1122 B.C. to 255 B.C., in the middle course of which dynasty the true historical period commences—through the feudal period also, and the Ch'in dynasty 255 B.C., which lasting only fifty years yet first unified China—and up to the fateful days now upon us when a Republic appears like a phantom, beneficent perhaps, but weird, in the Imperial Land. The following in brief was the scheme of government. The Sovereign ruled with and through his secondary or feudatory chiefs called generally princes, whose Chinese specific titles Dr. Legge translates as duke, marquis, viscount, earl, and baron—represented in later times by the title and office of viceroy or provincial superiors. These directed or controlled officers of "the right and left," the mandarins of later nomenclature (a word probably derived from the Portuguese *mandar*, to command), who were charged with the civil administration and care and instruction of the people. "Father and mother" was till lately the recognised title of the *Chih-hsien* or chief executive magistrate of a district; for thus the patriarchal, and parental character and attitude of the Emperor, Son of Heaven, and Father of the people, inspired the very names of his subordinates. Other officers again had charge of departments of public works or agriculture, reporting periodically on the state of the people, and accounting for taxes and other sources of revenue. There were also naval

and military mandarins of the Imperial forces, and for police work. These inform the Emperor as to his great family, and carry out his schemes of beneficence, with the assistance further of a grand council at court, and with the Emperor's own processions through his dominions, to see the people's life and industries, and to hear the people's voice—for that voice has never been forcibly silenced, nor without opportunities of appeal even before the lesser magistrates. These Imperial processions were discontinued by one of the now discarded but not unworthy Manchu dynasty, because of the impoverishment of rich and poor alike in their loyal desire to honour the Sovereign by lavish display of silks and satins carpeting the streets and roads over which the Imperial feet should pass.

Before proceeding to a survey of historical China—ancient (760 B.C. and onwards), mediæval (221 B.C.—A.D. 1644), and modern—it may be of interest to add a sketch of the civilisation of ancient China, summarised from the *Tribute of Yü*, a section of the *Shu-ching*, describing the events of the Hsia dynasty, lasting from 2205—1766 B.C., under which Yü and his descendants possessed the land. This document is treated by Bunsen as a contemporary and public document of Yü's reign (2205—2197 B.C.), but Chinese scholars generally regard the record as a romance, though one of very ancient fabrication. Dr. Legge shows the wholly mythical and unreliable character of the celebrated stone pillar asserted to have been erected by Yü himself on the top of Mount Hêng in the present province of Hunan, on the genuineness of

which the genuine and authentic character of the *Tribute of Yü* would seem to stand or fall. Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130—1200), the most distinguished critic and philosopher of his age, and till recent years the officially recognised and authoritative commentator on the sage Confucius' own text, searched for the stone in vain, and is wholly sceptical about it. Dr. Faber is probably within the limits of sober criticism in regarding the account of the ancient Chinese contained in the *Tribute* as an impossible description of China as it lay and flourished and developed 2200 B.C. But he thinks it may be a romance thrown back 1,000 years, and inserted by writers of the Chou dynasty as descriptive of prehistoric China from what they saw around them, near the dawn of reliable history. And as such it seems to supplement our sketch of China before Christ came.

China is described in these records as divided by Yü into provinces, including: (1) Shensi and parts of Chihli; (2) south-west Shantung and a small part of Chihli; (3) north Shantung; (4) part of Kiangsu and Anhui, north of the Yangtse; (5) Yang-chou or the sea-board south of the Yangtse, apparently Chekiang, and farther south as far as Amoy, as pumeloes as well as oranges are mentioned as its productions; (6) central Hu-kuang; (7) Honan and part of Hupei; (8) Ssŭ-ch'uan and part of Kansu; (9) Shensi, and parts of Ssŭch'uan. Here we find, in addition to the articles and arts belonging to the prehistoric or earliest part of Chinese civilisation, skins of bears, foxes and jackals, named as prepared for use, and articles worked from their

hair; varnish made in two provinces, Shantung and Honan (Chekiang is now celebrated for its special varnish, used largely for the cleaning and repair of the woodwork of western ships while in port); fine grass cloth also; fine and coarse hempen cloth; woven ornamented silks, especially in the present chief home of this industry, the coast provinces south of the Yangtse; products of the sea, but only in north Shantung; precious stones, gold, silver, copper, lead and steel, as used for exchange, and in fine art manufactures.

The same general summary of arts and products would probably describe them down to the Christian era, and long after that, supplemented and enriched, but scarcely displaced, by mediæval and modern inventions and reforms. It must be remembered that Chinese territorial expansion, to its present limits and beyond, dates chiefly from the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—907), Korea and the south provinces of China Proper coming under Imperial rule at that epoch. So great and illustrious was the dynasty deemed, that China is even now called by some the great T'ang country.

We have traced thus partly by deduction and surmise, partly by the information of historical annals, the history of China, and the manners and customs of her people, more than half-way down that history's course. There have been many changes in China since the Christian era, dynastic and political, and the bounds of the great Empire have from time to time expanded and contracted again, but the general aspect of the land—her manners and customs, her high civilisation and universal education,

and that of no mean quality or meagre benefit—have not much changed; and we close this chapter with a rapid survey of the outward features of the better-known dynasties in China's story, leaving for the time, save by cursory notice, further description of her internal conditions.

China has been under the sway of more than twenty dynasties and governments since the era of the legendary *Hsia*.* Within the limits of a handbook it will not be expected to find a full unfolding of the tale of these 3,600 years, and we must content ourselves with the more notable both of the dynasties and of the rulers, and with the most epoch-making events in those eras.

Both the hereditary system of succession within the limits of the reigning Imperial family, and the feudal system of subordinate states, seem to have been instituted by the great Yü, 2205 B.C., and this system lasted till the Ch'in dynasty, when, under Shih Huang-ti, 221 B.C., the Empire was unified, and the first universal Emperor reigned, and sought, by the destruction of all documentary annals and evidence of the past, to make history begin with his tale and dynasty.

The third dynasty, including, according to Mayers' estimate, the semi-historic and earliest historical periods of Chinese history, was the Chou dynasty, following the Shang, and lasting 867 years. Great men and noble pass across the scene as these nine centuries flow on. King Wu, the founder of the dynasty, Duke Chou, and China's

* See Table of Dynasties, p. 425.

three great philosophers, teachers and reformers, Lao-tzŭ, Confucius and Mencius, are there; and the strange anomaly was witnessed of deepening depravity of morals and social unrest, side by side with a new emphasis laid on the five relations of society, an expansion in the written language, and literary activity generally, together with persistent efforts on the part of these great reformers to stem the torrent of evil. The first threatenings of danger from the Tartars in the north, which afterwards so seriously affected the Empire, were felt in this dynasty. These, called the Hsiung-nu, were probably of the same race as the Western Huns. The Ch'in dynasty, which came next, though lasting only fifty years, forms an epoch in the long history of the very greatest importance. The Great Wall was neither begun nor finally completed by Shih Huang-ti, but he added greatly to it; and besides this attempt to fence off danger from the north, he extended the limits of his now consolidated Empire over almost the whole of the territory afterwards known as China Proper.

The Han dynasty succeeded 206 B.C., and, lasting with the Eastern Han 430 years, is justly reckoned one of the most illustrious and eventful periods of Chinese history. It included within its limits the wonder of the eternal ages—the Incarnation of the Son of God (shortly before the reign of P'ing Ti). Buddhism was officially introduced into the Empire; the system of competitive examinations for office dates from the early years of this dynasty; and good and strong government, with a penal code, kept pace with a rapid developement of

commerce, arts and literature, notably in history and philosophy.

The period of the three rival states, immortalised and made literally to live in Chinese imagination, through the notable historical novel, *The History of the Three States*, and connected with the names of Ts'ao Ts'ao, Liu Pei and Sun Ch'üan, followed the Han ; and this state of internecine war was succeeded, not immediately indeed, but after the chequered life of twelve more short-lived and disturbed reigns, by the illustrious 300 years of the great T'ang, by which name, " the great T'ang," China was till recently called in common parlance. It formed the Golden Age of Chinese poetry. The territorial expansion of China even beyond its present limits took place in this era. Korea was annexed, and Persia looked to China almost as its suzerain, while the civilisation and definite incorporation of Southern China dates from these glorious days. The rise of Arab and Persian sea-trade with Ganfu (Canton) during this dynasty is noticeable.

Then after five dynasties of the briefest duration, in A.D. 960 the great Sung dynasty began, and, with the Southern Sung, lasted just over 300 years. It formed, or rather included within its boundaries, the Augustan Age of Chinese literature—the great critical philosopher Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130—1200) flourishing at this time.

But during the last hundred years of their sway, the Sung monarchs were greatly harassed by the Chin Tartars, the ancestors of the Manchu dynasty. From the years A.D. 1129—1276, Hangchow was the metropolis

of the Southern Empire, the north lying under the overshadowing cloud of the Mongols, who eventually, under the Yüan dynasty, established the first foreign domination, after a native and independent rule of 3,000 years. Of the magnificence of Hangchow (the Kinsay of Marco Polo) both under the Southern Sung dynasty and under the Mongols, the walls stretching to their furthest traditional length of 100 (Chinese) miles, or nearly 36 of our measure, we speak further down. The Yüan dynasty is best known through the famous Kublai Khan, who made the sovereign or suzerain power of China more widely felt than at any other period of the nation's history. During the Yüan dynasty, as Marco Polo testifies, China was in a measure overrun by *foreigners*—all the highest officials were Mongols, Saracens, or Christians ("bearded men")—and the native topographers fully confirm this statement. The testimony of Western writers is very striking. Andrew of Perugia calls his salary *alafa*, reckons its value according to the estimate of the *Genoese* merchants, and lives in a place called *by the Persians* Zaitun, a city in the province of Fukien.

The Mongols ruled China for about 100 years, and with their overthrow a Chinese native dynasty, the Ming, the first on the roll being the son of a labouring man, governed China for three centuries, and in the earlier days with energy and success. Foreign trade with the Portuguese was partially sanctioned; the Jesuits arrived, and their scientific and mechanical skill was welcomed; while careful law-codes were formed, which

still guide the administration. It was till quite recently the secret and often the avowed design of all Chinese patriots to restore the beloved Ming and to expel the foreign Manchus. Lineal descendants of the family still live and are recognised in Chekiang, and it is significant both of the power and of the toleration of the Manchus that they continually winked at the Chinese custom of making the actors in their historical plays conform to the costume and manners of the Ming.

But degeneracy and weakness set in, and, hard pressed by northern invasions, the Ming called in the Manchus to their aid, and having quelled the rebellion which had caused the suicide of the reigning Emperor, and having defeated the northern invaders, the Manchus assumed for themselves, with the name of the Great Pure Dynasty, the Imperial power ; and this dynasty only one year ago, after 268 years' rule, retired before the pretensions of a Chinese Republic, whose history we cannot relate, for it is still in the making. No one who has lived in China during any part of the closing century of the domination of the Manchus, can fail to have his memory crossed and blurred by case after case of bad faith and unreliability on the part of the Central Government, and reflected repeatedly in the treacherous or openly hostile attitude of the provincial and local magistrates. The Tientsin massacre, with a rebound as of an earthquake wave, influencing even the most friendly Chinese, and turning them to thoughts of violent expulsion of foreigners and extinction of Christianity; the long and dismal succession of truculent summer rumours, of riots, and

persecutions, of defiance of treaties, paraded and suddenly apologised for; the outrageous picture-placards and blasphemous and fiercely brutal anonymous caricatures (or, as in one case, with avowed and secretly protected authorship); the vexatious restrictions on inland trade, and all the long *likin* controversy; the uprisings against the telegraph, the railroad, and all improvements; the culmination in the Boxer uprising—all this, like an evil dream, possesses one's mind and memory in reviewing Manchu rule and policy since the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion. It marked, perhaps, effeteness and decay setting in, though, strange to say, all through these years, and up to the very recent phase of the repudiation of loans and the attempt to set aside ordered agreements, the old nobility of China's integrity flew high its flag of praise: "A Canton merchant's word is worth any one else's bond." This must be remembered to China's credit; neither must the fact be forgotten, that this state of corruption and the weakness of ill-faith set in after the disastrous ruin of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, aggravated by a calamitous foreign war; and further, that whatever the merits of the struggle, commonly called the Second Opium War, may have been, the final Treaty of Peace and the article approving of Christianity and sanctioning its promulgation and acceptance by the people (its repeated infractions we notice elsewhere) was forced from the Chinese by the victorious powers in that not glorious conflict. Before, however, the onward sweep of change relegates the Manchus to comparative oblivion, it is well to remember how worthily some of the Manchu

Emperors have ruled the land, not from the lust of personal power and the selfish ambition of autocratic domination, but definitely and avowedly for the commonwealth. The Emperor, going in person through his great provinces, to see the conditions of the people and hear their complaints, was not an unknown spectacle in China. It was brought to an end, as we notice above, by the Emperor himself, from the fear that the people would impoverish themselves through their lavish display of the signs of their loyalty, strewing the streets with silk and satin.

This dynasty has been marked by great literary activity from time to time; notably under the truly great K'ang-hsi (1661-1722), who, besides his authorship in his own native Manchu language, wrote much in polished Chinese *wên-li*. The standard dictionary of the Chinese language will be for ever associated with his name; and his patronage was freely given to literature. The beautiful editions of *The Collection of Standard Essays*, and of the History of China, by Ssŭ-ma Kuang, A.D. 1084, and an abstract of the metaphysical writings of the Sung scholars, were produced in Manchu and in Chinese during his reign. *The Sacred Edict*, the joint production of the Imperial father and son, K'ang-hsi and Yung-chêng (A.D. 1722), is sufficient of itself to give high honour to the now dethroned dynasty.

"It is a somewhat singular fact," writes Williams (*Middle Kingdom*, Vol. I., p. 554)—rather, one would say, it is an almost unique distinction—"that monarchs, secure in their thrones as K'ang-hsi and Yung-chêng

were, should take upon themselves the character of writers and teachers of morality to their subjects, and institute a special service every fortnight (the first and fifteenth day of each month) to have their precepts communicated to them." "If too," he adds, "it should soon be seen that their designs had utterly failed of all real good results from the mendacity of their officers and the ignorance or opposition of the people, still the merit due to them is not diminished."

The Sacred Edict is of great interest. It is not merely an eminent example of the practical carrying out of the noble paternal and patriarchal ideal of Chinese government, the father instructing his children. It is also an instance, eminent, if ineffectual, of the Imperial head of the nation warning the people against superstition and idolatry—a warning increased to downright ridicule by Wang Yu-pu, a high officer who paraphrased and commented on the whole *Edict*. It is, further, a fine piece of Chinese as literature, so much so, that Chinese scholars fifty years ago were expected to commit the whole to memory equally with their own classical books. It is also admirable as an example of the way in which to treat a text, pulling it to pieces, examining each fragment, with illustration, analysis and application, and then collecting again the heads and the accompaniments of the thesis and argument in a peroration of didactic and hortatory power. So much has this been felt, that the *Edict* has been recommended as a model when training preachers and catechists for Christian exposition.

Neither has this alien dynasty failed to uphold the

patriotic pretensions of China as a kind of suzerain of the world, parrying with the subtle weapons of sublime courtesy, as from a condescending ruler to the embassies of tributary nations, Lord Amherst's embassy of peace and goodwill (as designed by him) between nations of equal and independent authority. This was under the Manchu Emperor Chia-ch'ing. And his successor, Tao-kuang, deserves even more honour in the memories of patriotic Chinese, for while abating little of the masterful arrogancy and exclusive policy of the Government, he humbled himself nobly even to tears and passionate remonstrance, if he might save his people from the gathering plague of the opium trade and the baneful use of the drug. And the dynasty, though nearly done to death by the cataclysm of the long-drawn-out T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, and by foreign and disastrous wars, never seemed wholly to lose heart, or abandon its dignity of hope some day to restore peace and prosperity and order to the China the Manchus had learned to love. Change, convulsion, revolution have overtaken China and the dynasty now. But it is a thought perplexing yet significant with which we close, namely, that every one of the necessary and wholesome reforms which preceded the new Republic were Manchu in inception and in execution. Some, indeed, may be attributed to the pressure, increasing in force, brought to bear on the late Empress and her advisers, and the two suddenly succeeding Emperors, by the reform party, the outward expression of the secret party of insurrection and revolution. But the great uprising of China's conscience, in moral

revolution against the culture of the poppy, the preparation of opium, its sale, wholesale and retail, the trade in the drug from India and Persia, and the native growth and traffic, and chiefly its use for anything but prescribed medicinal purposes—all this was a miracle of virtuous reform. The movement against the custom, 1,000 years old, of cramping girls' feet, had as its chief patron the Manchu Empress dowager. The sudden and only too drastic alteration in the methods and subjects of education was the result of her "pencil stroke." The introduction of railways and inland steam navigation, though hampered repeatedly by official or popular prejudice and jealousy; the better pay and discipline and drill of the army, turning in some places a ragged and disorderly and hated rabble into a force formidable for its fighting power, and welcomed and liked by the people the while, because of its good character and good order; and then the first reluctant acceptance of the clamour of the Young China party for a constitution, for provincial and local advisory councils, preparatory to the summoning of a parliament, a National Assembly, the Emperor still supreme, but served and advised himself by a ministry; and all the woes or delights of party government for the commonwealth;—all these, whether they be regarded as wholesome reform or hustled experiments, all were Manchu; and "such and such things" might with patience and reasonable petition and representation have been extracted from the not unreasonable Regent and Council.

And this sunset radiance brooding over the discarded

Manchus must not fade from the memories and imagination of students of Chinese history, whatever glories of the dawn of a new era a Republic may hope to shed over the land.

It is impossible as historians, or as enquirers into China's story all down the ages, to forget Napoleon's dictum that Republics are not made out of old monarchies. It is almost unthinkable that the new Western clothing and uniform should fit and adorn the ancient Eastern body politic and economic. Neither is it easy to approve of an insurrection and rebellion launched against "the powers that be," without notice or warning or parley, and against powers conceding point after point of popular demand. This movement was almost cowardly in its sudden assault, and though to a real extent guided by a professed Christian mind and genius, it scarcely deserved to prosper.

But it is not easy, viewing the matter from outside (though we claim very deep and intimate sympathy with Chinese aspirations and destinies), to judge a Christian's conscience in this matter. A patriotism (never quite extinct or unknown) is deepening and strengthening in all ranks now, and China for the Chinese would not have seemed so strange, had it taken the form of the rallying cry which the T'ai-p'ing raised: "Down with the alien Imperial family, up with the flag of a Chinese dynasty." But that, coincidently with a jealousy and dislike of foreign influence and interference and control, China should hastily absorb Western education, and in a hurry put on the red cap of Western Republicanism, seems so strange,

that but for our knowledge and experience of China's marvellous power of cohesion and of recuperation, and her genius for assimilation and for accommodating her still unchanged and unchangeable theory of nature to the changes of this troubled world, we should be in despair as to her near and further future. We perhaps judge too ungenerously the purity of the motives of China's present leaders and rulers; and we can better take leave of her ancient history on the threshold of her new story, with the prayer and hope that, with rulers swayed by the fear of God, great China may prosper, and that with "righteousness exalting the nation," she may be a blessing in the earth.

CHAPTER IV

Religious Thought in China

It is generally said that the Chinese have three religions —Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. This statement, however, requires some modification and explanation. In the first place, both Islam and, to a less extent, Christianity, have for centuries past claimed, and still claim, the allegiance of a portion of the Chinese race; while Manichæism and Judaism, though now extinct, once gained a temporary footing within the borders of the Chinese Empire. The introduction of these various exotic religions into China will be alluded to or fully described in a subsequent chapter. It is true that Buddhism also, in its origin, is foreign to Chinese soil; but in its Chinese dress it has become part and parcel of Chinese life, and may therefore be studied in close connection with the remaining two religions, which alone are of purely Chinese descent. Secondly, the terms "Confucianism" and "Taoism" are somewhat ambiguous. The religious system commonly called Confucianism was not founded by Confucius, and it would be more correct to describe it as the State Religion of China, leaving the word "Confucianism" to denote the moral teaching and scheme of practical philosophy associated with the name of China's greatest sage.

Similarly the word "Taoism" has two different applications. It is used of the system of philosophical thought contained in the remarkable treatise called the *Tao-tê Ching*, which is believed to have been written in the sixth century B.C. by Lao-tzŭ, another of China's great sages. It is also used of the popular religious system founded some seven centuries later by Chang Ling, the first of the line of so-called Taoist popes; and it is in this latter sense that the words "Taoism" and "Taoist" are used throughout this chapter.

With these few explanatory remarks we approach the complex problem of the developement of religious thought in China. Much of the perplexity and some of the difficulty connected with the study of this subject will disappear if we apply to the three chief religious systems of China what has been said by Professor Poussin of Buddhism in general:

"The effect of Buddhism," he writes, "on popular superstition has not been comparable to that of the churches of the West, or even to that of Mohammedanism."—"Gods pagan in origin and character are . . . Buddhas."—"Buddhism is encumbered with all the dreams of the half-civilised people who have been its converts."—"Neither Buddha nor his disciples broke with the old naturalism."—"'Wherever he settles,' says Shakyamuni, 'the wise man will make offerings to the local deities. Honoured they will honour him; and for the man whom the gods protect everything succeeds.'"—"Ancient Buddhism does not include the whole of life. . . . It has no ceremonies for birth,

marriage or death."—" If rain is wanted or floods are feared the Nagas and dragon-kings . . . will still be prayed to and exorcised. Above all, the prehistoric magic and the power attributed to sorcery remain. . . ." —" Buddhist doctrine has been unable to destroy superstitious thought and practice because it contains nothing with which they may be replaced."*

These words are true certainly of Chinese Buddhism, and true also of the State Religion of China and of Taoism. These three chief religious systems of China have failed to displace the myriad superstitions and gods of the ancient Asiatic animism. In particular they have shown neither the power nor the desire to remove or to modify the theory of life, which is considered by modern scholars to have formed, from prehistoric times, the basis of Chinese animistic beliefs. This fundamental theory is supposed to be the Way (*Tao*) of the universe, which depends for life on the due interaction of *Yang* and *Yin*—the two Principles or Influences or Breaths. *Yang* represents the positive or male principle, *Yin* the negative or female; and though, properly speaking, there should be—and theoretically is—nothing but harmonious and complementary co-operation between the two, yet in the Chinese mind *Yang* was generally associated with beneficent spirits (*shên*), and also with light, warmth and life, and *Yin* with malevolent spirits (*kuei*), and also with darkness, cold and death. The whole universe being animated with these spirits, it was necessary for man to avert

* *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, pp. 344–354.

the malevolence of the evil and to win the beneficence of the good.

"Heaven, the greatest *Yang* power, is the chief *shên* or god, who controls all spectres (*kuei*) and their doings, and it is one of the great dogmata of China's theology that no spectres are entitled to harm man but by the authorisation of Heaven or its silent consent. Nevertheless there are myriads, who wantonly, of their own accord, without regard to that *li* or law or the *Tao*, do distress the world with their evil deeds."*

In accordance with this fundamental theory, the main function of Chinese religion would seem, from very ancient times, to have consisted in muzzling the *kuei* and stimulating the operation of the *shên*—a form of religious belief which may be defined as "Exorcising Polytheism," or, in other words,

"A cult of the gods with which the Eastern Asiatic imagination has filled the Universe, connected with a highly developed system of magic, consisting, for a great part, in Exorcism. This cult and magic is, of course, principally in the hands of priests. But, besides, the lay world, enslaved to the intense belief in the perilous omnipresence of spectres, is engaged every day in a restless defensive and offensive war against those beings."†

It would be quite impossible within the limits of this short chapter to describe this ancient cult of beneficent

* *The Religious System of China*, by J. J. M. de Groot, Bk. II., p. 930.

† *Ibid.*, p. 931.

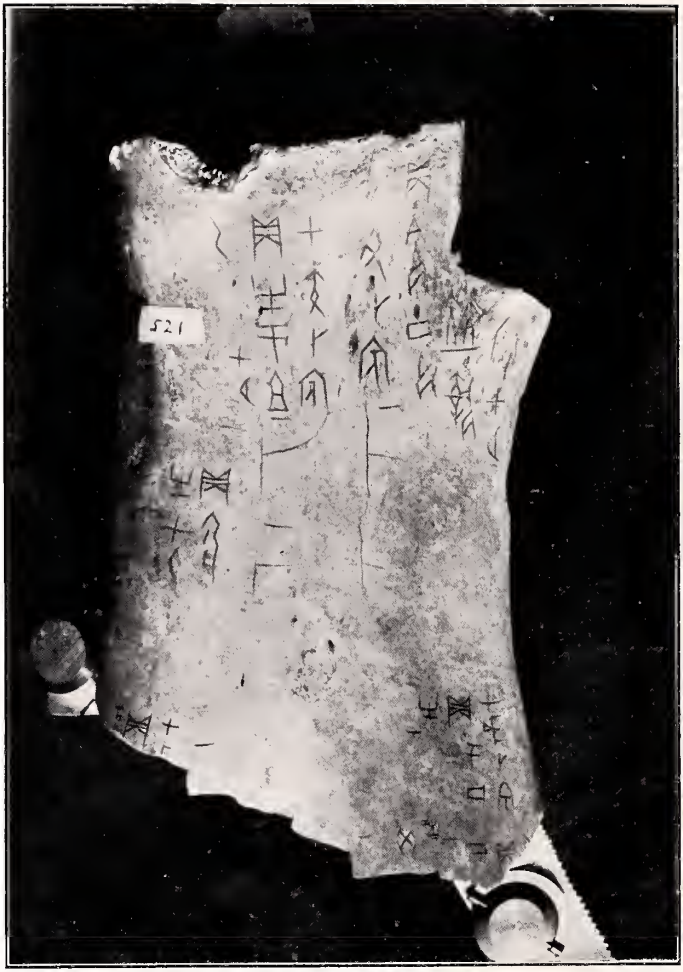
spirits and "war against spectres"; but two points must be mentioned before we pass to a brief consideration of the organised religious systems which have grown out of, or, rather, have been superadded to the theory of *Yang* and *Yin*, and to the practices which accompanied that theory. First, with regard to ancestor worship, it should be noted that this, the most natural and simple form of animism, has apparently always formed an integral part of the doctrine of "The Way of the Universe."

"The *shên*," writes Dr. de Groot, "naturally form two distinct categories: those which inhabit human bodies or have inhabited them—the souls of living and dead men—and all the rest, forming, in the widest sense, parts of the universe." *

After some interesting examples of worship paid to living men besides the Emperor, the author proceeds:

"Especially, however, men are worshipped after their death."—And because of the strength of the patriarchal system, "in the first place worship of the dead in China is worship of ancestors. It signifies that the family ties with the dead are by no means broken, and that the dead continue to exercise their authority and protection. They are the natural patron divinities of the Chinese people, their household gods, affording protection against spectres, and thus creating felicity. Ancestor worship being the most natural form of soul worship, the fact is also quite natural that we find it mentioned in the

* *The Religion of the Chinese*, by J. J. M. de Groot, New York, 1910, p. 63.



VIII.—BONE USED FOR DIVINATION

[*To face p.* 169.

ancient classics so often, and in such detail, that we cannot doubt that it was also the core of the ancient faith. It may even have been the kernel of the nation's first and oldest religion."*

And again:

"Ancestor worship prevails as the sole form of popular religion recognised by the state. . . . It is, in fact, exclusively for this cult that ritual regulations are laid down for the people in the dynastic statutes."†

A further proof of the prominence of ancestral worship has recently been brought to light by the discovery of inscribed fragments of tortoise-shell and bone, dating, perhaps, from the twelfth century B.C. In his valuable paper on this find, Professor Chavannes writes:

"It is well worthy of remark that the tortoise-shell was used to consult, not gods of any kind, but ancestors."‡

A common form of inscription on the bones is, for instance, "We consulted the oracle in the presence of *Tsu Ting* (Ancestor Ting)"—*Tsu Ting* and the other names found being just possibly those of the Yin dynasty Emperors.

We may surmise, then, that ancestor worship is at least as old as—if not older than—the *Yang* and *Yin* doctrine, into which, however, it fitted without difficulty. The suggestion of Dr. de Groot that "it may even have been the kernel of the nation's first and oldest religion"

* *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 84.

‡ *La Divination par l'écaille de tortue*, etc., par Ed. Chavannes, Paris, 1911, p. 13; cf. L. C. Hopkins in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct., 1911, April, Oct., 1912, July, 1913, etc.

need not preclude our agreement with the theory of Dr. Legge and others concerning the monotheistic *origin* of Chinese religious thought. It is a reasonable hypothesis to suppose that China's " first and oldest religion " had a definite theistic, if not purely monotheistic, basis ; but that from early days this worship of the Supreme was left to chieftains and patriarchs. The inevitable result would be that the common people, shut off from the true worship of God, attempted to satisfy their religious instincts by giving quasi-divine honours to the spirits of dead chieftains or tribal patriarchs ; and having deviated thus far from orthodox belief, proceeded next to worship the spirits of all ancestors, and also to imagine the whole world animated with innumerable spirits, powerful for good or evil, but all subservient to the Supreme. To explain the interaction of these lesser spirits, the next step would be the developement of the *Yang* and *Yin* theory, and with this the spread of the practice of Exorcism, which has ever since filled such a large place in Chinese religious thought.

The second point to be noticed in connection with the ancient animistic beliefs of the Chinese is the importance of the exorcising priesthood, to which allusion has already been made.

" From very early times," writes Dr. de Groot, " . . . this (Animistic) religion may have had a priesthood, that is to say persons of both sexes who wielded, with respect to the world of spirits, capacities and powers not possessed by the rest of men."*

* *The Religious System*, etc., Bk. II., p. 1187.

These priests were known anciently as *wu*, a name which may be traced perhaps to the eighteenth century B.C., and they exist to-day under various names, being generally known to Europeans as "Taoist priests" (*Tao Shih*). They are regularly trained, initiated and licensed, and wear, when on duty, a peculiar dress, to which are sometimes added most gorgeous embroidered vestments. More or less illicit magic and exorcism seem also to be widely practised by men and women who hold no license, and the work of even the licensed men is not officially recognised or reckoned orthodox.*

Against the magic and superstition of this undoubtedly ancient priesthood, there seems to have been a certain degree of protest from very early times. Dr. Legge thought he found the protest in the words of Confucius himself.† In the first century of our era, Wang Ch'ung wrote a short essay against exorcism, which he describes as "a ceremonial institution transmitted from ancient times," ending with the words, "so the question (of good or evil) lies with men and not with spectres, in virtue and not in sacrifice."‡ The existence and antiquity of this protest and the fact that it finally triumphed (in theory at least), not as a matter of novel change or gradual developement, but on conservative grounds and for the retention of primitive custom—all this suggests once more the probability of the contention

* *Ibid.*, Bk. II., Part V., *The Priesthood of Animism.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 1188, 1199—*The Religions of China*, by J. Legge, London, 1880.

‡ *The Religious System*, Bk. II., pp. 938, 939.

of Dr. Legge and others, that "the first and oldest religion" of the Chinese was theistic, or even monotheistic, in its origin. "Heaven . . . reigns supreme in the universe," * writes Dr. de Groot; and the words are fully justified by Dr. Legge's extracts from the classics and from modern books of state ritual, which speak of Heaven (*T'ien*) or *Shang Ti*, as creator and sustainer of heaven, earth, man, and all things, and as being separated by the distance between master and servant from the very greatest of all other spirits.† The worship of *Shang Ti*, conducted by successive Emperors of China, upon the open-air altar, the marble platform of the Altar of Heaven in Pekin, with its impressive simplicity and its suggestion of immemorial antiquity, seems to take us back to the distant ages, when the stream of religious thought in China was doubtless still comparatively pure, to the days when the chieftains of prehistoric Chinese tribes may, like Melchizedek, very likely have performed high-priestly duties before the altars of "God Most High." And it is interesting to note that not only did the early Jesuit missionaries identify *Shang Ti* with the One True God, but still earlier, Mohammedan apologists, in presenting memorials to the Imperial throne, argued that this Supreme Object of Chinese worship was one and the same as the Moslem Allah. The ancient protest against magic and superstition, which had been making itself heard with increas-

* *Ibid.*, Bk. II., p. 1154.

† *The Notions of the Chinese concerning Gods and Spirits*, by J. Legge, 1852, and *The Original Religion of China*, by J. Ross, London, 1909.

ing persistence, and the growing tendency to concentrate religious thought more and more on the worship of *Shang Ti* by the Emperor and of the spirits of ancestors by the people, led finally, in the classical renaissance of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220), to the formation of an authorised State religious system, with official rules and regulations for the due performance of orthodox rites. From these rites the exorcist priests, with their heretical beliefs and practices, were gradually expelled, though it was found impossible altogether to wean the Chinese people from their trust in magic. The general effect, however, of this " Protestant " movement may be compared to that of the Reformation in Europe, more especially in those parts of Europe where the masses of the people continued to cling to mediæval superstitions. In China, however, there has never been anything like a universal reaction against the " Protestant " principles and practices that were definitely formulated during the period of the Han dynasty. To this day the more educated of the Chinese have remained firm adherents of the system described as the State religion of China. The connection of this State religion with Confucius' name and person lies in the reverence it pays to one who has hitherto been regarded, not as the founder, but simply as the transmitter and expounder of the *ethics* of ancient orthodoxy. It was not till recent times that he was actually worshipped, and this comparatively modern innovation has obscured the fact that Confucius himself had little, if anything, to do with the developement of a State *religion*.

The Han dynasty witnessed also the rise of another religious system, associated—and with but little more reason—with the name of Confucius' contemporary, the sage Lao-tzŭ. To quote Dr. de Groot again :

" There is in the *Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms* and in the *Books of the Later Han Dynasty* reliable evidence that the old principles of Universalism or Taōism "—that is, of the " Way of the Universe," as explained above—" had in the first centuries of our era given rise to a disciplined Church. This process is inseparably connected with Chang Ling's name. In the second century he founded in the region which is now called Ssŭch'uan, a semi-worldly State with a system of taxation, and with a religious discipline based on self-humiliation before the higher powers, confession of sins, and works of benevolence. Demonocracy played an important part in it, and he (Chang) is himself described as a first-rate exorcist, a god-man able to command spectres and divinities, a thaumaturgist and compounder of elixirs of life. When he had ascended to heaven, the chieftainship of his Church passed to his son Chang Hêng, by whose death it was transmitted to his son Chang Lu ; and this hierarch finally surrendered his realm in A.D. 215 to Ts'ao Ts'ao, whereby it was swallowed up in the empire which this hero by force of arms was then carving out for himself from the territory of the decaying House of Han. . . . The offspring of Chang Ling and Chang Lu in the main line have, under the title of T'ien-shih or ' Celestial Masters,' exercised to this day, from their see in the district of

Kuei-ch'i, in Kiangsi province, a kind of clerical predominance, manifesting itself principally by a supremacy over the demon world, effected throughout the Empire by various means, but especially by charms and spells imparted to the Taoist clergy."*

The present "Celestial Master" was seen by the writer eight years ago riding in a sedan chair and calling, in a very mundane manner, on native and foreign officials at Ningpo. He is known to foreigners as the "Taoist pope," and the Church over which he rules is called the Taoist Church; but, as explained earlier in the chapter, the Taoism of this system is not identical with the Taoism of the much more ancient philosophical treatise ascribed to Lao-tzŭ. The clergy or priests who are subject to this "Celestial Master" go by the name of *Tao Shih*, or Teachers of the Way; but the *Tao*, or Way, they follow is only remotely connected with the *Tao* of Lao-tzŭ. How far the writings attributed to this great sage may have influenced the Taoist Church in its earlier stages it is difficult to say, but it would seem that at the present day Lao-tzŭ is regarded by the exorcising priesthood of Taoism merely as a great name to conjure with, in the performance of magical rites. For it must be remembered that these *Tao Shih*, or Teachers of the Way, are very closely related in thought and practice to the Exorcists of primitive Animism.

"This term," writes Dr. de Groot, "has been used since the age of Han to denote the votaries of the discipline by which, preferably in seclusion from the busy

* *The Religious System*, Bk. II., pp. 1182, 1183.

world, assimilation with the Tao or Order of the Universe was sought ; but these votaries became at an early date a class who devoted themselves to the sacerdotal work of propitiation, on behalf of human felicity, of the gods who animate the Universe, composing the *yang* part of its Order, as also to the frustration of spectres who in that same Order compose the *yin* part, and exercise a baneful influence. Actually, then, the *tao shih* became a priesthood working for the same great object for which Wu-ism had existed since the night of time ; moreover, properly considered, Wu-ism was Tao-ism, because the spirits, which it exploited or exorcised for the promotion of human happiness, were Taoist gods and spectres, that is to say, the same parts of the dual Universal soul, *Yang* and *Yin*, which compose the *Tao*. It is accordingly quite natural, that as soon as the *tao shih* made themselves priests of Universal Animism, their actual assimilation with the *wu* was imminent. It was from the *wu* alone that the *tao shih* could learn and borrow the venerable and ancient exorcising practice ; they wove it inseparably into the ritualism of their sacrificial worship of the gods. The difference between the *tao shih* and the *wu* class was finally effaced entirely, when the older part of the function of the *tao shih*, viz., assimilation with the *Tao* by mental and bodily discipline in seclusion, was discarded, being incapable of being maintained by them against the competition of Buddhist monasticism, and against the oppression of ascetic and conventual life by the Confucian State. It thus seems incorrect to pretend that the

tao shih has supplanted the *wu* or *hsi* in Chinese religious life."*

Rather we may conclude that the ancient Animism, with its magic, exorcism and priesthood, has taken back into itself the Church of Chang Ling, retaining the ritual and nomenclature of the system that Chang Ling founded.

The introduction of Buddhism into China, through the agency of missionaries from India, also dates from the period of the Han dynasty. The first emissaries of this foreign religion were orthodox Buddhists, who adhered to the Canon of Buddhist Scriptures, known as the Hīnayāna, or Lesser Vehicle.† Exponents of the Mahāyāna did not appear in China till the third or fourth century of the Christian era, but from that time onward Buddhism in China was divided into a number of sects, largely of Chinese origin, and basing their distinctive tenets, some on the Hīnayāna, some on the Mahāyāna, some on both. The history of these sects is wrapped in obscurity, but some of them have left their mark on Chinese Buddhism. This is more particularly true of the School of the Pure Land, which was founded A.D. 381, and re-founded in the seventh century, by a famous Buddhist leader, who is known to have been the contemporary of Nestorian missionaries in China. The theistic tendencies and other elements of Christian truth in the Amidabha cult, which was the special feature of

* *Ibid.*, Bk. II., p. 1254 (*hsi* is the ancient word for priest; *wu* for either priest or priestess).

† The Southern Buddhists at the present time—that is the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam—follow the Hīnayāna. The Northern Buddhists in Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, for the most part also reverence the Mahāyāna.

this School, are described at some length below. As for the other schools, a mere mention of some of the more important must suffice. Their names give some inkling of their distinctive tenets, and the dates will show how active Buddhism in China must have been at the time when Christianity was first introduced. There was the School of Penitence, founded at the end of the fifth century, and the School of T'ien-t'ai, dating from the sixth. The latter, like the School of the Pure Land, still exists as a separate sect in Japan. Then there was the School of Pity, founded by Hsüan-tsang, the famous traveller of the seventh century; and then the School of Mysteries, whose first Patriarch lived in the eighth century.

These various Schools or sects of Chinese Buddhism have long since been absorbed into the School of Dhyāna, or Meditation, to which almost all Chinese Buddhist priests are attached at the present day. The monks or priests of this School (nominal celibacy is still the rule for the Buddhist priesthood in China, though not in Japan, and monastic life is still observed to some extent) are governed, according to their ordination vows, by two sets of rules, the 250 commandments of the Hīnayāna and the 48 commandments of the Mahāyāna. This School of Meditation was founded in China by Bodhidharma, who came as a missionary from India about A.D. 521. It spread rapidly in every direction, borrowing freely from all the other schools. In the seventh century it was divided into two branches, which in the Sung dynasty gave birth respectively to two or three

IX.—BODHIDHARMA

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new sects. But these sub-divisions disappeared again, and nothing now remains of them but their names buried in books. The Japanese branch of the School of Dhyāna, introduced into Japan in the seventh century and known there as the Zen (*Shan*) sect, has always appealed to the aristocracy of Japan, and notwithstanding the materialistic tendencies of this twentieth century, its teaching is still much sought after by some modern educationalists and by not a few of the official class in that country. Its deep mysticism and contemplative "quietism," and elaborate discipline for the subjugation of the body by the mind continue to attract some of the keenest and most thoughtful intellects in Japan. But in China it has been far otherwise. The fatal backward trend of Chinese Buddhism and its tendency to compromise with superstitious beliefs have already been noticed. Though sect after sect came into being, with the avowed object of preaching and teaching some distinctive tenet that was probably intended to raise the Chinese mind above thoughts of magic and exorcism, yet none fully succeeded in its object. The subsequent assimilation of the various sects into the School of Meditation still further arrested the influence of higher Buddhist thought in China. The treatises and books of devotion, which were produced by hundreds, when sects were multiplied, have since grown more and more rare.

"It is no exaggeration," writes Dr. de Groot, "to say that the fusion of the sects has destroyed Buddhist study, science and scholarship, and marked the first

stage in the decadence of the monastic life, which now has no more than the shadow of its former importance."*

The Buddhist temples and monasteries in China are, indeed, a sad memorial of the faded glory of the religion to which they owed their existence. Deep have been the spiritual yearnings and profound the varied speculations of Chinese Buddhist Schools; but every Buddhist attempt to arouse true religious feeling and instinct in China seems doomed to failure. More particularly is this true of the Amidabha doctrine, which has coloured the thought and imagination of Chinese Buddhists, but has lost, in China, much of its former theistic and almost Christian character. This is still found, however, in Japan, in the teaching of the immensely powerful Shin sect, which is a reformed branch of the School of the Pure Land. The emissaries of this Japanese sect are already actively engaged in the attempt to put new life into the dead bones of Korean Buddhism; and as it is more than likely that they will soon extend their operations to China and revive there the old influence of the School from which they sprang, it will be as well to give here a brief account of what they believe and teach.

This peculiar type of Buddhism is as far removed as possible from the teaching of the historical founder of Buddhism. Gautama taught that human beings are independent of divine aid and influence; but by the irony of fate he himself is now worshipped with divine honours by myriads of Northern Buddhists; not only

* *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, by J. J. M. de Groot, 1893, p. 7.

so, but other *avatar* or manifestations of the universal Divine Essence, in which all Buddhists believe, have also been raised, by the theistic tendencies of Northern Buddhists, to positions of supreme reverence and worship in the Buddhist pantheon. Chief among these supposed *avatar* has been Amidabha Buddha. In his earthly phase Amidabha is said to have been a monk. In what country or at what period he lived is left to the imagination; but the story is that by self-renunciation and sustained effort he had reached the point where he might attain Buddhahood and enter Nirvana. At the last moment he looked back on a suffering world, and vowed to return there and discover an easier way of salvation. He saw there were multitudes who, by reason of their weakness, could not follow the "Noble Eight-fold path." So, by renewed struggle and self-sacrifice in this world, he stored up sufficient merit to save all who attached themselves to him by faith. Mere repetition of Amidabha's name would henceforth bring the believer safe—not to Nirvana, but to a beautiful Western Paradise. True, Nirvana still remained in the background, as the ultimate goal; but to all intents and purposes the Northern Buddhists were instructed to fix their desires on this very material conception of a Western Paradise rather than on the abstract idea of Nirvana. There in Paradise, so they were taught, Amidabha, the "Boundless Lord of Life and Light," awaited the arrival of the faithful; and so great was his compassionate wish to save men, that those who called on his name could by that act

escape all evil in this world as well as the terrors of future hells, and so enter into eternal bliss. Associated with Amidabha in this beneficent work of salvation were two other *avatar*, one of whom is Kuan-yin, the bi-sexual god or goddess of mercy. In China the sex of this *avatar* is now female, and she is to this day one of the principal objects of devoted worship among Chinese Buddhists, especially among sailors, by whom she is worshipped as " the Star of the Sea." In her case the earthly phase of her existence is connected with the famous legend of a Chinese heroine, who is said to have lived in the island of P'udu (*P'u-t'o*), off the mouth of the river Yangtse—this island being the most sacred spot in the world in the eyes of Chinese Buddhists.

Stripped of legendary accretions, we can see in all this a faint resemblance to the Christian doctrine of salvation by faith in the Triune God and of the goal of the saved. And some have hastily concluded that Buddhism, being the older religion, was the source whence Christianity borrowed these ideas. The real explanation is that Northern Buddhism most probably came into contact with Christian thought early in the Christian era, and that the Christian elements in the Amidabha cult are due to Buddhist borrowing from Christian sources. Some of the Triads in the Buddhist pantheon, such as that of the Buddha, the Law and the Order, or of the Past, Present and Future Buddhas, are undoubtedly pre-Christian. But the idea of Amidabha as a personal Saviour and Lord and of his association with two other *avatar* or manifestations of God in

X.—KUAN-YIN

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the beneficent work of saving mankind—this has not been traced further back than the first century in the Christian era. Japanese Buddhists do indeed profess to find the germ of the Amidabha theory in a discourse attributed to Gautama in one of the closing years of his life; but the first great Buddhist sage definitely to preach this doctrine was Asvaghosha, who was handed over to the invading Scythian king, about A.D. 90, in ransom for the city of Benares. It is reasonable to suppose that in the Scythian dominions he came in contact with Gnostic, Magian and possibly even early Christian thought. Another great name in the historic developement of the Amidabha doctrine is that of Nāgārjuna, who is said to have discovered the Mahāyāna Scriptures in the Himalayan district in the second century A.D. Another preacher of the doctrine was Kumarajiva, who was a native of Eastern Turkestan and was carried captive to China towards the end of the fourth century. These two sages had both for a time preached and taught in those districts north of India, which were then in the closest touch with religious thought in Western Asia. Nestorian Christianity meanwhile was pushing eastwards across Asia; and it is a significant fact that the Chinese sage, Shan-tao, known to Japanese Buddhists as Zendō, who simplified and popularised the Amidabha doctrine in China, propagated his views in Hsi-an fu about the time when the Nestorian Mission was first established in that city. Thus much at least has been brought to light by the original research of the late Rev. Arthur Lloyd, of

Tokyo; and it is a matter of general regret that he did not live to complete his work and prove his contention that the Amidabha cult in its essence was directly borrowed from Christian sources. It must be emphasised again that the Christian elements in this type of Buddhism, though still prominent in Japan, have almost died out in China, and that little remains of them beyond a belief in the efficacy of the invocation of Amidabha's name, with certain ideas of heaven, hell, and a continued devotion to Kuan-yin, the goddess of mercy. Chinese Buddhism as a whole has sunk back into the slough of superstition, sorcery and magic. Like the orthodox State Religion and the Taoist Church, it has failed to supplant the fundamental belief of Chinese Animism.

The Chinese themselves say, "There are three teachings, but one way." By the "three teachings" they mean the three religious systems we have described; and by the "one way" they seem to indicate the Way of the Universe and the theory of *Yang* and *Yin*. So that we may conclude this account of religious thought in China by repeating that not one of the three chief religious systems of the Chinese is really opposed to "the Way." On the contrary, each has been superadded to it, and has tended to preserve rather than destroy all that "the Way" implies. Nor did the great sages of China, with their constant striving after better things, succeed in really raising the tone of Chinese religious thought and practice. In the region of ethical morality and philosophical thought, as we shall see in

another chapter, they profoundly moved the Chinese nation; but not in the domain of religion pure and simple. Before passing on, however, to a sketch of the life and message of these great sages, we give, first, some quotations from Chinese sources, which throw light on the actual position held, according to Chinese ideas, by *Shang Ti*, in relation to the Emperor and to lesser beneficent spirits (*shên*); and we draw attention in the next chapter to the bearing of certain of their proverbs on the subject of the religious views of the Chinese, and append also some notes to illustrate their religion in practice. The quotations are as follows:—

"In every sacrifice it is the heart that is essential; if the heart is perfect it has communion with Heaven and Earth, and reaches the gods celestial and terrestrial." (*Chiu T'ang Shu*, c. XXIII.—tenth century.)*

"The High Ruler, Sovereign Heaven, has the rank of sovereign; the Rulers of the Five Directions, corresponding to the seasons, rank as subjects. Though the former and the latter have the title of Ruler in common, they differ in their rank, which is that of sovereign for the first and of subject for the others."

"Many years ago (at the fall of the Yüan dynasty) . . . the High Ruler gave me his invisible help; the mountains and streams, having received His orders, lent me their supernatural aid. . . . Here, now, is the reason why I make this announcement: I wish that the fogs and mists in pestilential places may be changed

* This and the following quotations are taken from Chavannes' *Le T'ai-chan*, pp. 216, 223, 269, 271, 280, 281.

to pure fresh air, that we may stay the rebel chiefs so that good men may do their work in peace, that the soldiers may come home quickly and each find his goods intact so that he may be able to support his parents. This is my prayer. But I dare not lightly address the High Ruler (*Shang Ti*) ; you, O god (*shên*), will kindly take (my request) into consideration and transmit it (to Him) on my behalf. My respectful announcement."

(A prayer to *T'ai-shan*, by the Emperor T'ai Tsu on the occasion of a rebellion in Kuangsi, A.D. 1395.)

" I carry on my government for the benefit of the people : you, O god, make the waters flow for the use of living beings : in either case we follow the orders given us by the High Ruler (*Shang Ti*). But now the waters have overflowed their banks. . . . Who will be held responsible ? No doubt this is the result of my want of virtue ; but how should you alone, O god (*shên*), escape blame ? "

(A prayer to *T'ai-shan* by an Emperor of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1452. *T'ai-shan*, though a great god, is here placed nearly on a level with the human Emperor ; but both are absolutely subject to the High Ruler, or *Shang Ti*.)

" With respect have I received the order of Heaven and a heavy charge has been entrusted to my humble person. It is on me that the people and the gods of the soil rely ; calamity and prosperity depend on me."

(*Idem*, A.D. 1455. The Emperor here places himself above all else, but subject to Heaven, or *T'ien*.)

" To Thee, O mysteriously-working Maker, I look

up. . . . Thy servant bows his head to the earth. . . . All the spirits accompany Thee as guards. . . . Thy servant prostrates himself to meet Thee, and reverently looks up for Thy coming."*

These words are from a prayer used by the Emperor at the Altar of Heaven before the year A.D. 1538. In that year the Emperor Shih Tsung made a change in the style of address to the High Ruler (*Shang Ti*), putting Huang T'ien (Sovereign Heaven) in place of Hao T'ien (Vast Heaven). On this occasion the ceremonies of a regular solstitial sacrifice were performed, and six days earlier the Emperor attended the reading of a paper giving notice of the intended change at the round altar, as follows:

"A. B., by inheritance Son of Heaven, of the great Ming [dynasty], has seriously prepared a paper to inform the Spirit of the Sun . . . [here follows a long list of *shên*, or beneficent spirits] that on the first day of the coming month we shall send our officers and people to honour the great name of *Shang Ti*, dwelling in the Sovereign Heavens. . . . Beforehand we inform you. . . . and will trouble you . . . to exert your supernatural influence . . . communicating our desire to *Shang Ti* . . . "

The hymn sung at the service six days later contains the following passages:

"Of old in the beginning there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not

* This and the following quotations are from Legge, *The Notions of the Chinese*, pp. 24–26, 28–30, with the wording slightly changed.

begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. In the midst thereof there existed neither form nor sound. Thou, O spiritual Sovereign, camest forth in Thy presidency, and first didst divide the grosser parts from the purer. Thou madest heaven, Thou madest earth and man. All things, with their reproducing power, got their being.

"O Ti, when Thou hadst separated the *yin* and the *yang* (*i.e.*, earth and heaven), Thy creating work proceeded. Thou didst produce, O Spirit, the sun and the moon and the five planets, and pure and beautiful was their light.

"Thou hast vouchsafed, O Ti, to hear me, for Thou regardest me as a Father. I, Thy child . . .

"When Ti, the Sovereign, had so decreed, He called into existence heaven, earth and man. . . .

"The service of song is completed, but our poor sincerity cannot be expressed. Thy sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter hast Thou made all living things. . . .

"With great kindness Thou dost bear with us, and notwithstanding our demerits, dost grant us life and prosperity. . . .

"Spirits and men rejoice together, praising Ti the Sovereign. While we celebrate His great name, what limit can there be or what measure? For ever He setteth fast the high heavens and the solid earth. His dominion is everlasting. I, His unworthy servant, bow my head and lay my head in the dust, bathed in His grace and glory."

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF CHINESE RELIGION.

I.—At the earliest point at which we can clearly perceive the Chinese settled in China we seem to be able fairly to say that there probably was belief in and worship of :—

(1) *Shang Ti*, the High Ruler (also called *T'ien*, Heaven) with attributes little inconsistent with Christian belief about God, unique in his position as sovereign, but by no means alone in receiving worship.*

(2) The spirits of

(*a*) Deceased men, especially ancestors ; and

(*b*) Natural objects ; with belief in good and malevolent spirits involved.

II.—Worship was led by :—

(1) The head of the State or of the family.

(2) Men or women possessed by a spirit, *i.e.*, sorcerers or witches.

The more educated people worshipped with traditional sacrifices and addresses, or prayers, without the aid of professional priests, and despised the less educated who worshipped with the help of the sorcerers and witches.

III.—THIS STATE OF BELIEF AND WORSHIP STILL EXISTS, but three notable things have occurred in the course of time :—

(1) c. 100 B.C.—The worship (II. (1) above) of the educated and less superstitious class was gradually formulated into a system with elaborate ritual and

* A special form of sacrifice appears to have been reserved for *Shang Ti*.

service books *authorised by the State*, which may, therefore, be called the STATE RELIGION or CHURCH —*Ju chiao.*

(2) C. A.D. 100.—A Hierarchy or Religious State was formed, closely allied to the worship (II. (2) above) of the more superstitious uneducated class, but also

(*a*) Regarding *Lao-tzŭ* as its patron saint.

(*b*) Practising ascetic and monastic rules (perhaps borrowed from Buddhism).

(*c*) Practising means (such as physical exercises) for the prolongation of life and health.

This soon collapsed as a State, but left the exorcist priesthood better *organised* than before, and with some new practices and nomenclature, and this may be said still to exist under the name of the TAOIST CHURCH—*Tao chiao.*

(3) C. A.D. 100.—Buddhist missionaries began to come, bringing with them

(*a*) A monastic system which has survived.

(*b*) Doctrinal books, which introduced centuries of religious controversy, now again for centuries extinct.

(*c*) A readiness to adapt themselves to the spirit worship of the Chinese.

Buddhist monks are thus now either meditating recluses, or (practically) priests of the popular spirit worship, and form the BUDDHIST CHURCH—*Fo chiao.*

Note A.—The State and Taoist Churches appear together to represent the ancient worship with

comparatively little change. The Buddhist Church keeps an unmistakably foreign appearance and character.

Note B.—None of the three churches has, we believe, any ceremony of admission or initiation for the laity or would dream of registering statistics of its adherents. Perhaps no single layman would profess to be a Taoist ; many, especially women, are devout but scarcely exclusive Buddhists ; and the vast majority of men would *profess* contempt for all beliefs or practices except those authorised by the State. The numerous secret societies are probably the only thoroughly Chinese religious bodies with duly admitted and registered lay members.

Note C.—The *Tao* or Way of the Universe, consisting of the due interaction and opposition of the *Yin* and *Yang*, or negative and positive, principles, is not a religious belief, though intimately connected with religion as being controlled by—perhaps created by—Heaven, and as conformed to (normally) by all souls, but would be more exactly described as the basis of physical science and of morality. Religion, science, and morality were probably not very clearly distinguished in ancient China, and morality was connected with religion through science.

Note D.—Dr. de Groot compares the course of Chinese religion very briefly to a trunk, *forking* about the Christian era into two branches (the State and Taoist Churches), and having a third branch (the Buddhist Church) *grafted* on to it at about the same period.

CHAPTER V

Religious Practice

We cannot but feel, after all, that the actions more than the notions of the Chinese reveal the actual position of their religious belief, and that some account of Chinese religions in practice is necessary to complete what we have said in the last chapter. A brief notice also of Chinese proverbs as bearing on religious subjects will not be out of place.

"The genius, wit and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs." So wrote Lord Bacon; and in these utterances from the heart of the nation we find "an inxhaustible source of precious documents in regard to the interior history, the manners, the beliefs, the superstitions and the customs of the people among whom they have had their course."

Chinese proverbs, indeed, are drawn in not a few instances from their sacred classical writings. The *Analects* of Confucius, for instance, consist largely of apothegms so *short*, with so much *sense*, and so many grains of *salt*, and likewise so *popular*, that according to these signs of a true proverb given by Archbishop Trench, the whole of the sayings of Confucius seem to stand on the very verge of the proverb region. But very many Chinese proverbs are gleaned, not so much from the

writings of that sage as from the nation's talk, even as Shakespeare delighted to glean his proverbial sayings from popular speech. And a proverb in Chinese will be more conclusive and illuminating to a Chinese audience, a higher and more final court of appeal, than even some elegant classical quotation. These sayings seem not seldom to rise into a clearer air than superstition, or agnosticism or wrongdoing, however clever, can supply. And not seldom that air is stirred gently by faith in the unseen and feeling after God:

> "If Heaven approves me, then let men despise;
> Loss and reproach are blessings in disguise."

And again: "If a man has done nothing to wound conscience, a knock may come at dead of night, and he will not start in alarm." A personal Heaven surely is appealed to in the one proverb, while in the other conscience seems almost to be regarded as God's oracle in the heart. But can a man be always approved of Heaven and have a conscience "void of offence towards God"? "Woe is me," sighs Confucius, "I have never yet met a man who loved virtue as he loved sensual pleasure;" and this sigh the people turn into a proverb half cynical in its terrible despair and sweeping assertion of the depravity of human nature: "There are but two good people, one dead and one not yet born."

Another proverb says: "Even the saints and sages of old had at least three parts out of ten bad." And yet: "The good alone can go to the good place. To the good is the good reward. To the bad the retribution of evil. Why comes not the reckoning? Because the

time is not yet full." Is there any hope, then, for sinning man of change of heart and salvation? The thunder of reply is this:

> "Go, shake yon mountain range!
> Man's nature, who can change?"

Yet there is place for repentance. "Are you conscious of fault?"—and who is not?—"repent at once and convert, if haply, if haply you may escape perdition."

Doubt not the presence and power of God:

> "Fear'st thou not God? Be still, O soul,
> And listen to the thunder roll."

And with that solemn voice of God in their ears, we cannot imagine the Chinese soul and conscience fixing fear and faith only in the Lei kung Lei p'o (the Taoist "uncle and aunt of thunder"), or in the god of fire. The proverb points rather to a dim belief in a Supreme Being, revealed in His eternal power and manifested in His mighty works. And here again is another proverb, in which we seem to hear echoes of primal faith, coming in its origin from a Divine source:

> "Heaven has a shining path; none walk along it;
> Hell's gateless wall to scale, the nations throng it!"

The uncertainty of human life and the rapid passage of this human state are often insisted upon. It is a pilgrim state, and life and this world's homes and stages are thus recognised in Chinese proverb:

> "A rest-shed, call it, by the way,
> A tarrying, as we onward fare;
> But call it not a dwelling-place
> Of long repose from toil and care.'

" *Ut migraturus habita.*"

And on the way you really know not the length of the stages, and the nearness or remoteness of the goal.

" You cannot tell in the morning what will happen to you at nightfall." . . . " And when night comes slip off your shoes and stockings with the thought, Shall I live to put them on in the morning ? "

Yet fear not !

" If in the early dawn you hear and receive the doctrine " (something deeper and more instructive and more illuminating to the mind and soul, surely, than the old *Tao* of the Universe) " you may die at night and fear not."

And again, redeem the time if it may be so short and so uncertain.

> " An inch of time, I'm told,
> Is worth an inch of gold ;
> But more than gold 'twill cost
> To ransom time once lost."

And set not your affection on things below. Is not the far-off echo of that great word, or the preparation of the heart for its reception, sounded in this proverb ?—

" Gold is empty, silver vain ; and when death comes, who can clasp them still in his hand ? "

And once more, as either an assertion of man's hopes and aspirations in the past, not all of the earth earthy, or as a call faintly heard now, *Sursum corda*, we find this proverb familiar and accepted :

" Heaven's height is not high. Man's heart soars ever higher."

We have the same in the Western dress of Tennyson's lines:

> "The peak is high, and the stars are high,
> And the thought of a man is higher."

If we could watch an average Chinese boy or girl from birth, through childhood, youth, age and on to death, and know their thoughts and hopes of after death, we should find that what is religion, in their estimation, of some kind touches them at almost every turn. The difficulty of such observation lies in the fact that there is very considerable difference in the customs of religion or superstition in different parts of China, and that the true significance of their ceremonial acts is not easily revealed by them.

There is no separate ceremony of prayer or dedication of the child at birth. But when the first month is past the shaving of the baby boy's head is not only a ceremony of rejoicing and congratulation, but also, being performed often in the presence of a priest and before the image of the goddess of Children—a different deity from the goddess invoked for the gift of children—it has a distinct religious tone about it. The day of birth is also carefully recorded and remembered; for one reason, because the date and the special star or constellation ruling the day form an essential part in the Taoist fortune-teller's or geomancer's formulæ. Possibly neither more nor less superstition enters into these beliefs and fancies of the Chinese than that which finds its expression in the appeal of a careless, frivolous Englishman to "the luck of his stars," or in the ordered and more deliberate

utterances of "Old Moore," and the popular country oracle, *The Green Book*, or the prophecies in present-day books of fashion—for example:

"If your wedding takes place when the March winds roar,
You will spend your life on a foreign shore."

The child is further blessed and protected, sometimes, by the possession of a significant name. These are manifold, especially for boys; but girls also will have a name of endearment, as well as a more formal adjunct to the family name. There are parallels, indeed, in Chinese usage, to the *prænomen, nomen, cognomen, agnomen* of the Romans—namely the surname, the "milk-name" or familiar and pet appellation, the "book-name," given by the schoolmaster on the pupil's entry into literary life and study, and also a recognised home title corresponding to our Christian name.

Sometimes, as a familiar name which will cling to the boy through life, the exact contrary to that state or nature or virtue which the parent desires for the child is given him as a name at birth. For example, the boy is called "Hill-dog," that the terror of the very words may frighten away and ward off evil influences, which might make his nature wild and fierce. "Mo-kuei," devil, the writer has known to be given to a highly respectable, if not angelic, mason.

According to Chinese law the legality of marriage is secured and affirmed by the interchange of papers and the payment by the bride's parents of the sum fixed at the betrothal. But though thus defined by law, custom has long expected and demanded elaborate semi-religious

ceremonies at the time of marriage. These consist of the worship of Heaven and Earth, the worship of ancestors with the same rites, and then the worship of the bridegroom's parents, if living. Religion, or the travesty of religion, then further touches the newly married when they set up their own house and have their own kitchen. Sometimes as many as three or four generations live and grow up round the aged parents in the old home, the whole clan being accommodated in one compound, but each family having a separate establishment as a rule. And in each kitchen the god of the kitchen is placed over the oven, represented by a small image or almost always by an inscription on paper, and renewable every year on the second or third day of the first month. The supposition or belief is that this deity watches and notes every day the proceedings of the family, especially observing the talk of the women while they work and cook and gossip. On New Year's Eve this god is supposed to ascend to the courts above with the report of the family under whose roof he has spent the year. On this night special offerings are presented before the kitchen god, with the hope of conciliating him and inducing him to give as favourable a report as possible. The removal of this god from the kitchen and the tearing off of the "door-gods"—sheets of brightly coloured pictures pasted on the entrance gates of the house—form one of the surest signs of a Chinaman's hearty reception of the Christian faith.

All through life superstition and the awe of evil spiritual influences and the fear of the evil eye, or of

misadventure and bad fortune, beset and entangle the Chinese. Is a child born, a son, and then daughters following; does the dearly-prized son die with a tempest of weeping; and then does another son come in due course? That son's soul must be bound tight to his body, all through childhood and youth, and even to manhood, by a ring of silver wire placed round his neck by his mother's loving, anxious hand, and never removed day or night.

The question has often arisen how it is possible for the Chinese working classes to live lives at all wholesome or endurable. They are diligent and apparently unremitting in their work, notably so the agricultural and artisan class, and clerks and assistants in shops, and yet they have no weekly rest-day or even half-holidays. The only universal holiday is New Year's Day, but some relief from incessant toil is brought by the rather frequent occurrence of festivals and special days of commemoration, which are largely observed and are all connected more or less with religion; and this religious sanction more than any written law seems to secure their observance and to raise the consequent holiday almost to a legal position. These poor substitutes for the sacred Sabbath of body and soul, being under the sanction of one or other of the Chinese religions, the temples are resorted to or idolatrous rites are performed at home. The observances connected with the coming in of the Chinese New Year have often been described by travellers and residents in China. They are partly religious and partly social, and in the latter aspect

serve as a kind of safety-valve for the long pent-up spirits of the people during the year that is past. It is probable that these observances will survive the change of the date of the New Year Festival from that fixed by the Chinese lunar calendar to the Western style. The Chinese year has hitherto been lunar, but its commencement is regulated by the sun, the New Year falling in the first new moon after the sun has entered Aquarius. It thus comes not before the 21st of January and not after the 19th of February. To rectify the calendar seven intercalary months are added in every nineteen years.

The approach of the season is generally preheralded at night by a gradually increasing noise of crackers and other fireworks, and in the day by a general air of bustle and preoccupation. Once in the year at least, and for many, once in the year at most, everything is washed and scrubbed and cleansed. The very framework of their paper windows is taken apart and floated to and fro in the streams and canals, and boatmen in this season beach their smaller craft for fresh painting and overhauling. New charms are affixed to doors and windows and to the stern sheets and bows of boats. The passage from the old to the new year is called "the stepping over the high threshold," and those who cannot pay their debts before New Year's Eve—called, with the vain hope of prolonging the time of grace to the utmost stretch, "the 32nd night" (Chinese months have only twenty-nine or thirty days)—are supposed to stumble and fall as they try to cross the threshold.

The old and new year so govern individual life that a child born on the last day of the old year is considered as entering on his second year the next morning. The aspect of the streets on a fine New Year's morning in old times was lively and almost brilliant, especially so from the graceful costumes of both men and women in old China. They are out for their New Year's calls, and everyone will appear, if possible, in long robes and jackets of silk and satin, with their red-buttoned and tasselled skull caps on, and the queues (now gone for ever probably) of the children adorned with twisted red cord or silk. These fine clothes can be hired, the price being gradually lowered as the hours of the first six days pass by. We complained once of the very late arrival of a caller, who should have been among the first to salute us. He replied that money was scarce and he was obliged to wait for the cheapest day to secure a fine robe already donned and doffed by a dozen others. When the calls are over, or during these ceremonial days, the whole community seems to give itself over to indiscriminate gambling, a practice illegal and condemned both by Chinese law and standards of morality, but winked at during this season. At night also, and sometimes, if the weather is cold and gloomy, during the daytime, numbers of lads and elders too assemble in a large shed or in some house, and, with doors and shutters closed, lay hold on every instrument of music or article which can make a noise. Without programme or fugleman or conductor or rhyme or reason, save the inspiration of hilarity, they seem to get

intoxicated with the gladness of noise, and the din swells and dies away and breaks out again till they cease from very exhaustion.

Kite-flying, a very high art with the Chinese, is the special amusement, and for many old people almost the solemn duty during these early spring days. Their paper kites are multiform, some like the birds so called, some like a magnificent mosquito or a dragon or a centipede, some in the shape of a Chinese picture word, such as sun or spring or good luck ; and the air resounds with the æolian note of these kites, fitted with tight-drawn harp-strings, or of pigeons with tiny bows tight-strung under their wings or bamboo whistles fastened to their tails. At night, with a strong warm south-east wind blowing, the sky is bright with lanterns attached to these kites and soaring to a great height. The boys on their return from school fly the kites, and grey-headed grandfathers seated gravely on bamboo chairs hold the kite-string in one hand and their long tobacco-pipe in the other.

Again, on the first day of spring, if our friend be a farmer, for instance, the observances will especially touch his life. On that day, which in the Old Style, as we must now call it, occurs early in February, a clay ox is exhibited in the courtyards of the city temples throughout the Empire, with civic and semi-religious rites, and afterwards tumultuously broken to pieces by the people. The current story and belief would tell us that the colours of the animal, by which the fortunes of the year are discerned, are distributed over the plain

surface of the clay by supernatural agency in Pekin at the close of the old year; and are thence officially promulgated in every province and every district. A colourless model of an ox in flour or clay is kneaded into shape and wrapped in straw, and it is then placed with a brush and paints in an empty room of the Astronomical Board in Pekin. Another version of the story places the brush in the hands of a blind man, who, without hint or guidance, traces the fatal or fortunate colours on the animal. Whether effected by seen or unseen agency the colours are there next morning. Four feet high and eight feet long, the ox speaks thus to the empire. A preponderance of green means illness and high wind; black means disastrous rainfall; red points to fiery heat in the summer, and to incendiarism; white, as well as black, means bad weather; and yellow preponderating means good harvests. The City magistrate, after due incantations, touches the ox with his wand. The crowd rushing in knocks it to pieces, and the husbandmen scramble for the fragments to mix with the manure for their fields.

The birthday of the sun occurs in the third month. The ceremonies of the fifth day of the fifth month also are especially observed, when in certain regions of Mid-China every house-door has a sword of rushes exhibited in commemoration of an ancient hero. This hero, determining to rescue the city and district of Ningpo from a river-dragon and his yearly toll of a boy and girl, plunged into the river on a white horse, armed with a sword made of rushes, and piercing the

dragon to death gave up his own life in the conflict. The waters were tinged as by the red of peach-blossoms, and bear still the impress of the story in the name the "Peach-flower Ferry." At this time also occurs the "Dragon-boat Festival," lasting nearly five days, and observed as a holiday. It is accompanied by idolatrous and superstitious rites, with charms and incantations in every private house. Long and slender boats, carrying fifteen to twenty men each, race on the canals, in memory, so the most reliable legend declares, of a premature reformer 2,300 years ago, who, seeing his suggested schemes refused by the prince, and fearing the ruin of his country, plunged into the river and was drowned.

The festival of the god and goddess of thunder, another religious holiday, follows in the sixth month about the close of July; and the seventh month, during which the spirits of the departed are imagined as released for a month from the grave or Hades, and potent then for curse or blessing, is marked by frequent ceremonies, which imply frequent breaks also in the routine of labour. The mid-autumnal feast in the eighth month, the Chinese "St. Luke's Summer," and the celebration of the winter solstice, three days before Christmas Day, complete, but with many minor or more local celebrations, the Chinese Calendar; and all in some sense enliven the monotony of the life we are imagining from youth to age, and keep also continually before the Chinese family religious thought of a certain kind, or something of that δεισιδαιμονέστεροι*

* Cf. *Acts*, xvii. 22.

spirit which was St. Paul's estimate of the Athenian religion.

Besides these festival days and the holidays secured by them for those who can afford it, longer intervals are arranged by very many, chiefly women devotees, for pilgrimages to sacred places, or to special temples on the patronal festival of the god or hero worshipped there. During the early and mid-spring days, largely with the hope of securing good luck for the harvest, when sowing and setting are now beginning, vast numbers of men and women resort to the great temples on the western shores of "Half of Heaven on Earth," the Hangchow Lake—Soochow, with its beauties of nature and art completing, in Chinese estimation, the earthly paradise.

P'u-t'o, a green island on the southern fringe of the Chusan archipelago, the central shrine, as it may be called, of Northern Buddhism, is visited by yet greater and more continuous crowds of devotees. The great temples in the fastnesses of the mountains round T'ien-t'ai, in South Chekiang, also attract multitudes of pilgrims.

The Chinaman, whose experience and mode of life and religious thought, from youth to age, we are trying to sketch, will find, however, the difficulties in his path not a few; and the contradictions of the professors and teachers and philosophic exponents of the gods whom they ignorantly worship, if he stops to think, irritating in their perplexity. But very few do stop to think. Here, for instance, at his very doorway, and either presiding over or identical with the earth, the soil round

his house suggests a god of the soil. The fear or reverence and adoration of this god, we are told by modern scholars to regard as "the lowest substratum which we can clearly trace of religious thought in China"; and they state that "the worship of the god of the soil and the ceremonies of the ancestral temple come nearer to origins than any other religious observance." Yet it is significantly added that from the very first the superiority of heaven was assumed, and the dependence of earth on heaven. This must surely point to a prior belief in and worship of a God of Heaven, a Supreme and Omnipotent Ruler, from which this lower worship marks decline and departure, not being itself the original essence. Here we encounter a fresh conflict of origins. We have noticed above how the teaching of the great *Tao* of the universe in the dual and sometimes antagonistic principles of the *Yin* and the *Yang*, darkness and light, gloom and sunshine, cold and warmth, earth and heaven, moon and sun, evil and good, forms really the original substance of Chinese religious thought. Yet in this old worship of the god of the soil we find this soil, this representative of the inferior and at times malevolent *Yin*, regarded as "the ultimate source of all human blessings and the god also of family prosperity." The deity of the soil was regarded in very early times as essentially a family Earth god, and was placed in imagination where "the central rain-hole," in the very ancient mud-huts or caves, let in the influence of heaven to the very centre of the home. Here again is an obvious indication, at any rate in more ancient times,

of harmonious and beneficent interaction rather than of antagonistic conflict between the *Yin* and *Yang*. The worship of this family god was further extended to worship by groups of twenty-five families, and then it spread further to the inhabitants generally, so that the soil even of a district or province came to be jointly worshipped.

The worship of the god of the harvest was almost identified with that of the god of the soil, the soil being regarded as the mother or nurse of the harvest. At worship of this kind, officials (sub-prefects of the district or even the governors of the province) would preside. The altars set up to the *Shê*, or *lares rustici*, and to *Chi*, the Ceres of the Chinese, are recorded as erected A.D. 26, open to Heaven with no roof over them, but only a wall and gates surrounding. It is interesting to notice further how fetish worship must have been early developed from the very ancient custom of planting a tree by the altar or of erecting the altar by the side of a tree. In this tree the power of the soil is manifested, and that power is worshipped by the worship of the tree. In Shantung at the present time tree-worship (chiefly of the *Sophora Japonica*) is very prevalent, and the inscriptions written everywhere over Taoist or Buddhist wayside shrines, or in their temples, "Ask and ye shall obtain," or, "If you pray the answer is sure," are inscribed also on banners hung on the tree and are regarded as utterances of the earth god dwelling in that tree. We are faced once more by the confusion and contradiction of ancient and modern religious thought, for the god of the soil, this Earth or *Yin*, becomes, according to some rather

doubtful Chinese authorities, a feminine divinity and the consort of Heaven, the great *Yang*.

To return from this digression—besides the religious influences and suggestions round an ordinary Chinaman, which have been already mentioned, he would have frequent opportunity for direct worship in the temples of the land, though a very large proportion of the worshippers in Buddhist or Taoist temples are women. The worship in Confucian temples, which, as we have seen, is one of the highest forms of ancestral worship, is for the most part official, though the people generally, especially in their school and student life, periodically reverence the name and memory and tablet of Confucius by a more private worship. The *Wên-miao*, the literary temple of Confucius, must, by the old laws of China, be erected in every prefecture, sub-prefecture and district, and also in every considerable market-town in the Empire. Any convenient site within the walls of the town may be selected, but in all cases the building must face south. The essentials of the temple are much the same everywhere, only varying in size and completeness. It must have three courts, which generally follow a line from south to north. The outermost court is called the *P'an kung*, after the name given to State colleges in the Chou dynasty, B.C. 1122—255. It is bounded by a wall called the *Hang ch'iang* after the name of colleges under the Han dynasty, 206 B.C.—A.D. 220, thus linking the sage's memory with the old times before him and after him. This wall is coloured red, which is the prevailing colour of the temple

generally, whereas the outer walls of family ancestral temples are all coloured black. This special wall in the Confucian temple has no gate, until a student in the district succeeds in obtaining the title of *Chuang-yüan*, or First of the Chin-shih doctors; and when this highest distinction is gained, the middle portion of the wall is removed and a gate substituted, through which, however, no one but such a doctor of letters and an Emperor or prince may pass. To the north of this wall is an ornamental arch of wood and stone, called "the spiritual star portal," and beyond this the semi-circular "College pool," sweeping from east by south to west. This is spanned by the arched bridge or royal bridge, which again no one but the dignitaries mentioned above may pass over. The north side of the court in which we now are is usually planted with trees, while on the west side stands a room in which animals for sacrifice are kept. The north side has, behind the trees, one large hall with a great door opened only for the special and privileged visitors. On each side of this door is a small door leading to the next and principal court, on entering which, two long narrow buildings are seen, extending along the east and west walls. They contain the tablets in chronological order of former worthies. We are now approaching the central shrine. Between these two corridors stands "the vermilion porch," and the court here is planted with cypress or *olea fragrans*. Above this porch is a stone platform, "the moon-terrace," a survival of custom in the Chou times, and an undesigned honour, perchance, to the despised *Yin* principle.

And now, close by, we reach "the Hall of Great Perfection," the temple proper. In the middle of the north wall, "superior and alone," sometimes in a large niche and sometimes merely resting on a table, is the Sage's tablet, with an altar before it, and overhead short eulogistic inscriptions. This tablet is the "throne of the soul," the supposed resting-place of the three divisions into which the soul of the departed is separated at death. Next below this central and supreme tablet are others (each pair with an altar) of "the Four Associates." The first is the philosopher Yen, "the Sage who returned," unwearying in study, diligent in the practice of what he learnt, living in deep poverty, yet in unclouded cheerfulness, never repeating a fault once pointed out, tender-hearted, virtuous, trustful, reproving even his adored master by his trustfulness and soothing him by his harp and song. The summer day of this noble-hearted disciple closed all too early. He died at the age of thirty-two amid the despairing tears of his aged master. No wonder, then, that he stands so near the great Sage. The second associate is the philosopher Tsêng, "the founder Sage," as he has been called, or the exhibitor of the fundamental principles of Confucius. He was dull and slow of speech, but renowned even to a fault for his filial piety, especially towards his mother, with whom he had almost an electric chord of sympathy, and withal so deep and learned a scholar that to him Confucius entrusted the education of his afterwards celebrated grandson. The third is this very grandson himself, the philosopher Tzŭ-ssŭ, "the transmitting

Sage," as he is called. He merited the title not only by the composition of the *Chung-yung*, described below, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, but also by his teaching and handing down the Sage's general doctrines and writings.

The fourth is Mencius, with the title, " the Sage who is second "—only second to Confucius, as the words probably and justly mean, and we could almost wish to see him placed, not only in title but actually, nearer his great master, as a loyal and enthusiastic pupil and exponent. Then follow lower in the hall the tablets of " the twelve wise ones," six on each side of the hall, and also furnished with altars. There is yet one more court, called " the Ancestral Hall of Exalted Sages," and placed behind or on the east side of the principal court. The official residence of " the Director of Studies," who is in charge of the temple, stands close by, and Government students are accommodated in buildings within or close outside the temple precincts.

We have given these details at length, for their interest, not insignificant in themselves, is greatly enhanced by the reflection that the passing away of these buildings, as well as of many of the Buddhist and Taoist shrines, by their complete secularisation, if not their demolition, is imminent in China at the time we write. And if ancient history is worth preserving at all, these features and dominant factors in that history are worthy of permanent record.*

Buddhist temples called *Ssŭ* or *An*, as distinguished

* See *Guide to the Tablets in a Temple of Confucius*, by T. Watters.

from the Confucian *Miao* and from the Taoist temples *Kung* or *Kuan*, have some features of similarity of arrangement. But they possess a different atmosphere and a different significance. Confucian and ancestral temples generally are for the commemoration and reverence and *cultus* of the great departed. Buddhist and Taoist temples and monasteries (Taoist *monasteries* being, however, now very scarce), are the abodes of living expounders of the Buddhist and Taoist doctrines, living devotees and recluses and living priests, and are open for the worship singly or in company of the people generally, addressed to images representing deities of living and present power. Buddhist monasteries are almost ubiquitous, except in certain districts, with the object either of providing places of worship and devotion and divination to city and country village alike, or of securing scenes of natural beauty, on lofty mountain plateau or in secluded upland valley, for the delectation of the recluse and the worshipper. Hither also come devotees from the plains with the prospect of merit, sometimes at the cost of life to the aged, accruing from a toilsome and difficult ascent.

The arrangement of a Taoist temple with monastery buildings is not unlike that of Confucian temples. There will be the same semi-circular ponds and sacred bridges, the same groves of trees on the north side, and along the north wall many shrines for worship of minor Taoist deities. The same three courts will also be seen, only in both Taoist and Buddhist temples the entrance is guarded, not by a dead wall, but by a portico with

XI.—BODHISATWA AND ATTENDANT

[*To face p.* 213.

janitors, some dark, as indicative of the Indian origin of Buddhism, and all with a threatening aspect, except "the smiling Buddha" (Maitreya), who often appears with his stout and placid and radiant form sitting at the entrance to welcome worshippers. The central hall in either Buddhist or Taoist temples stands in the second or main court, and is approached by many steps. Buddha —the historic Gautama—sits in the centre of his own temple, gilded over the whole surface of his image, and with a lotus-flower as his throne. On his right is usually Ananda, the writer of the sacred books of the religion, and on his left, Kashyapa, the keeper of its esoteric traditions. Very frequently one of the Buddhist Triads is represented, such as the Buddha of the Past, of the Present and of the Future; or again, Amidabha often forms the centre of a group of other *avatar*. Before this central shrine in the larger temples and monasteries matins at 3.30 a.m. and evensong at 5 p.m. are sung antiphonally by a choir of priests, and here the chief prostrations and offerings are made, and fortunes are ascertained by drawing lots before the idol. Here through the mingled influences of the awe inspired by these gigantic, silent images of the Buddha and of bribes of sweets and other gifts mysteriously placed by parents and grandparents in the little hands as from the god, idolatry is stamped sometimes indelibly on the minds of China's children. There is an ambulatory behind this central shrine, and here the image of Kuan-yin, the goddess of Mercy, is placed and largely resorted to by the worshippers.

The chief image in the Taoist central shrine, half veiled and with a tablet in his hand, is that of Yü-huang Shang-ti. But here also a threefold object of worship is often exhibited, "the Three Pure Ones," the central figure being Lao-chün (Lao-tzŭ) himself. The mutual toleration of these religions, or rather perhaps the power of absorption which Buddhism possesses is remarkable. In some temples, on either side of Buddha, stand rows of the *deva* of Hindu mythology, Brahma, Indra, Shakra, honouring Buddha by reverent attention and offerings of flowers, and in Taoist temples Buddhist objects of worship are placed in positions of honour.

The temple of the "god of the walls and moat,"* the tutelary deity of the city, is another prominent object in every walled town. It forms a common resort, a kind of club or meeting-place, for popular demonstrations, as well as a place for worship and divinations. The images in these temples are treated with greater familiarity than those in Buddhist or Taoist shrines. They are carried about publicly in procession at certain seasons, for luck when harvest is near or for exorcising influence when the spirit of pestilence is abroad; and sometimes these images are exposed in the temple courts to fierce sun or pitiless rain to compel them to interfere with and countermand drought and flood.

For an ordinary Chinaman, such as the one whose life we are imagining, there is one observance which will affect him from time to time more immediately than

* This and similar temples belong to the State religion, and are under direct control of the magistrates, but are often managed by Taoist, or even by Buddhist, priests.

any other. It is an observance—call it religious or call it superstitious—that is, as Professor Giles assures us, "the most persistent and most influential on national life of all Chinese observances"—namely *fêng-shui*, the "wind and water" system of geomancy. It is so called, say some, because it is a thing like wind, which you cannot comprehend, and like water, which you cannot grasp. The beliefs and practices connected with this superstition cluster chiefly, though not altogether, round death and the abode of the departed. Our friend's future undisturbed repose in the grave, he has been told, must depend on good or bad *fêng-shui*; but besides "the changes and chances of this mortal life," the luck of a new-built house, for instance, and of the dwellers there and similar mundane events and arrangements are also minutely handled and controlled by these influences.

The system is a very ancient one, at least as old as the *I-ching*, 3,500 years ago; but the modern and more familiar system was founded by Chu Hsi, so comparatively recently as the Sung dynasty 700 years ago. This too, as well as so very much else of ancient China—her literature, her polity, her educational system, her very script—seems doomed to obliteration; and it may be worth the while to give, ere all has passed away, a brief sketch of this system.

Four divisions guide and control the scheme—*li*, the general order of nature; *shu*, her numerical proportion; *ch'i*, her vital breath and subtle energies; *hsing*, her form and outward aspect. Blend these four harmoniously

and you obtain a perfect *fêng-shui*. Now, three principles underlie such attempted blending: first, Heaven rules Earth; secondly, both Heaven and Earth influence all living beings, and man has power to turn this influence to the best account for his own advantage; thirdly, the fortunes of the living depend also on the good-will and influence of the dead. Here comes in of necessity ancestral worship. Under *li*, the order of nature, the number *five* is considered mysteriously dominant. Under *shu*, the number of the elements in nature, the ancients spoke of *six* elements, the moderns of *five* only, namely, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Chu Hsi harmonised the two, and taking *ten*, or twice five, as the sacred number for Heaven, and *twelve*, or twice six, as the sacred number for Earth, he constructed from these ten "stems" and their twelve "branches," and from their combinations, the cycle of sixty names designating now successive years. He did not invent indeed the cycle, but systematised it for the purposes of *fêng-shui*. A clever geomancer, armed with this intricate but meaningless array of formulæ, imposes with ease on his ignorant and superstitious customers. The soul of man is, the Chinese suppose, twofold—the *hun* and the *p'o*—the *animus*, that is the breath of Heaven, returning thither, and the *anima*, that is the quasi-material or animal nature, returning to Earth. Each of these is sub-divisible. There are three *hun*, as described below, and six or seven *p'o*; but the main distinction is between *hun* and *p'o*, and the people, modifying the idea, suppose

the dead as chained to the tomb by the quasi-material soul, while the spiritual nature hovers round the old home. Therefore, as there must still be action and reaction of the two parts on one another, the comfort of the corpse makes the earthly soul complacent, and as it flashes complacency to the spiritual soul as well, prosperity to the house of the living is secured by its unseen influence. And here comes in the art of the *fêng-shui* geomancer, in securing a fortunate site for a grave, open to the beneficent influences of the south, guarded with fences of trees against noxious northern influences, with water in front as an emblem of wealth and affluence, and straight lines in paths and watercourses carefully avoided or artificially diverted, so as to baffle and turn aside the evil spirits from their onward course.

We have conducted our Chinese friend thus far; or rather he in his ancient or more modern beliefs and superstitions has led us on. He dies, and, on a day, and in a place chosen according to the geomancer's manifold art, he is buried; and we leave him there, adding a brief sketch below of ordinary burial customs. Would that it were in each case with the Christian hope full of immortality! The doctrine and belief of the Resurrection of the Body and the life of the World to come are, as Westcott describes them, a Gospel revealed from one oracle alone. But there seem here and there, in ancient philosophy and belief, dreams of what may be, though no assertion of what shall be. One custom, the connection of a white cock with a funeral if it has been long delayed, is generally described as a sacrifice to the *manes*

or to the god of the soil or to other spiritual influences. Socrates remarked, just before his death, that he owed a cock to Asclepius, and Crito promised to pay the debt. Jowett thinks it possible that Socrates, recognising the fact of immortality and of life, finer life, after death, considered himself as restored by death to health—life here being but the portal to life hereafter, and that he desired to offer the customary sacrifice to the great Healer not of sickness alone, but whose voice brought back the dead also from the grave. Now the Chinese admit that they cannot trace the origin of this connection of the cock with funerals. We have seen the white cock, either a living bird or an imitation in white paper, on hundreds of coffins being transported by sea or river from distant provinces to their ancestral homes, and evidently not for sacrifice. Now, the cock is the bird not of the darkness but of the dawn, and intimately connected with the healing and life-giving power of the sun; and in Japan the white cock was always connected with the worship of the Sun-goddess. Is it possible that in the Chinese funereal bird we have a trace of a forgotten sign of the ancient revealed belief in a Resurrection—"at cock-crowing or in the morning" of the Eternal Day? But perhaps Dr. de Groot's suggestion that the white cock, "fit to serve the spirits," is meant to give strength to the spirit weakened by the delay in its burial, is more in accordance with current beliefs. The burial customs of the Chinese in all their complex ritual and elaborate ceremonial, are chiefly significant of only one department in religious

thought and belief—the conviction and apprehension of life after death. The cold, careless, godless exclamation, "you die—and there is the end," though heard occasionally, is seldom uttered seriously, or really believed. "After death the judgment" guides their beliefs in the mystery of the immortal soul. The soul, the life, the spirit (the words are sometimes too carelessly interchanged)—or as the Chinese say, "the three-inch-long breath"—is separated at death. One part enters the unseen world and goes to judgement before the Lord of Hades, arrested by a messenger mercifully tardy, shod with one sandal only. Another soul or division resides in the "spirit's throne," or "seat," in the ancestral tablet, placed in some recess of the house of the departed, or in the temple, or at the side of the tombstone; thus serving for the rites of the State ancestral religion. The third follows the corpse to the grave after hovering round the old home, and listening unmoved to the wail uttered at the four corners of the house, "Come, come, come back!" Periodic wailing and lamentation are heard by every tomb, addressed as to one still living though with the dead. And yet, in the confusion of their sorrow, they either imagine the soul to have passed safely the verdict of the last judgement, or anticipate its release. They provide for its use in the mysterious afterworld fragile structures of bamboo and paper, to represent house and furniture and other needed possessions, and also bank notes and coin made of silver tinsel and purchased at Buddhist or Taoist temples. These are burnt and thus conveyed to the spirit world.

It is probably the new life of transmigration for which, where Buddhist influence prevails, the mourners chiefly hope. Yet the extreme care of the corpse, shown by its complete and ample apparel, besides that wafted by burning into the spirit world, or the great thickness of the coffins in all except pauper funerals, or the great outlay in the building of elaborate tombs, seems to share with the Egyptian customs of embalming a hope of the continuance or restitution of the body thus carefully guarded and preserved. "At the end of all things there will surely be some turning of the stone, some uplifting of fortune for me," is a well-known proverb, and appears, in a form now tinged with Buddhist ideas of " the Yellow Springs" (the nether world), now of more direct anticipation, on many tombstones. Yet in the confusion of their beliefs, even this care of the tomb and the continuous sacrifices and prayers and offerings by their side seem limited ; as though faith and love and hope cannot bear up for long amidst the silence and gloom of death. Filial piety is supposed to be satisfactorily observed, if for three generations the tombs are kept in due repair, a calculation possibly based on another familiar proverb indicative of the influence of the dead on the living— " The elder generation stamps its image on the younger ; our ancestors influence even to the third generation— unerringly like the drops from the roof above falling on precisely the same indentation of the pavement below."

God, indeed, has not left Himself without witness to the nations of the earth. His philanthropy and His

benevolence in "rain and fruitful seasons," and His eternal power and godhead in His creation, before the eyes of men, are revealed and speak. Sometimes men and women have wakened up to see that sign and hear that voice; and we believe that in instances beyond our reckoning those who thus followed the sign and obeyed the voice have found Him. But these religions or religious practices in China, and notably the religions of India and the magic and superstitions of other faiths, are not the discoveries of God promised to the true feeler after Him, but much the reverse. They manifest rather blindness and deafness to God's signs and voice, leading the people ("without hope" because "without God in the world," and "all gone astray, turning to their own way"—the world in fact "lying in wickedness," and yet called and called again by God through their dreams) to slumber on or, half-awake for awhile, to turn again to the death-like sleep of worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator.

This conclusion, at any rate, may be drawn from this and the previous chapter, and it is one which directly affects and appeals to the Christian Church. There is nothing in the history of Chinese religious thought and practice in the past centuries which can lull the conscience of the Church to sleep with the fancy that China has not been so badly off after all with her own faiths, and that the Church's negligence in the high enterprise of evangelising the world has been at worst a venial offence. Neither, on the other hand, is there

any excuse in the present for the continuance of that apathy or the relaxing of such efforts as the Church is putting forth. China in her old religions, in her new life, in her political and intellectual awakening, is still without true hope if without Christ and without His unique and universal salvation.

CHAPTER VI

China's Sages

It has not been felt possible within the limits of the last two chapters, or, indeed, adequately within the limits of the book itself, to present a full conspectus of religious thought and belief in China, ancient, mediæval and modern. It may form, however, a useful complement to our narrative and discussion in the previous chapters if we present in this and a following chapter some account of China's leaders of thought and religious teachers—whether her own sages and scholars or those who have come to her from the West. And first of all we tell the story of Confucius. It is not, however, to be supposed that there were no ethical and religious teachers before Confucius. But with the exception of Lao-tzŭ, who was his senior by some years, his predecessors have left only fragmentary and disjointed records of their teaching. Moreover, Confucius is regarded by the Chinese themselves as without doubt their greatest sage. Can we then overleap in fancy 2,400 years, and see and hear first of all Confucius as he was and as he spoke? Will the sight and the hearing enable us to define or even to conjecture the causes of his fame and abiding influence? We use the words "abiding influence" advisedly: for it is difficult

to believe that the attempt recently made by some ardent spirits of Young China to discredit and banish from their curriculum of education the writings of Confucius and Mencius, as out of accord with Republican principles, can succeed, save with grave discredit cast upon Chinese intelligence and most justifiable *amour-propre*.

And yet reasons for this long rule over the thoughts and intellect and manners of a great nation do not appear on the surface. Confucius performed no very striking or awe-inspiring act, no great conquest of men's bodies—or even of their minds—and no great salvation of life. His writings and teachings contain no special revelation or deep discovery of philosophy. He was, in his own words, "a transmitter, not a creator." In Dr. Legge's words:

"He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress." He died under a cloud of despondency as to the triumph of his principles.

How do we account, then, for his fame and his influence? The answer of thoughtful Chinese will probably be that his mind was set on righteousness.

Confucius was canonized about the year 206 B.C.; the Han Emperor sacrificed at his grave 195 B.C.; in the year A.D. 1 a temple was erected to his honour by imperial decree, in which sacrifices were to be offered to his *manes*. Since the year A.D. 739 he has been

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[*To face p.* 225.

recognised as the chief national object of sacrificial honours; whilst in the year A.D. 1008 and ever since the title of "Most Perfect Sage" has been applied to him; but his actual deification dates from as recent a period as the last century. The life and character which led to such posthumous fame deserve deeper study than can be offered in a few paragraphs in a chapter of biographies. How great a man Confucius must have been! For by the simple story of his life and work and teaching he has won the homage, the affection, and latterly the very adoration, with divine honours, of the Chinese nation. Yet, on the other hand, he attained not to the highest rank of the truly great, since he failed to touch as a teacher and leader of thought and of morals those springs of higher life which no such teacher can afford to neglect.

We look back now across the tumults and the calms of this troublesome world: the birth and growth, the darkness and the dawn, and the enlightenment at last of Europe and the West; and over the dynastic cyclones and long glorious stretches of peace in Chinese history; and we see, on an October morning, 2,400 years ago (October 3, 552 B.C.), lying in the "mulberry-tree cavern," so the later legends say, a little new-born boy, remarkable—so history says—for nothing save a strange protuberance on his forehead. The legendary myths, which gather round Confucius and his mother and the circumstances of his birth, follow at some considerable distance of time, as is the wont with myths, and do not precede the history, but were added by enthusiastic

devotees, as a requirement to justify their hero's glory. There is nothing in the real history of his parentage and birth and after career to warrant the almost superstitious awe and reverence, and eventually the actual worship with which his name came to be regarded. "Welcome to the Divinity" is the title of one stanza in a rhythmic hymn sung at the half-yearly sacrifice to Confucius. "Oh, great K'ung-tzŭ! Prior in perception! Prior in knowledge! Co-equal with heaven and earth! Sun and moon are sustained by thee. Heaven and earth are kept pure and live." And again, "Thou art what never else was since men were generated."

But such exaggerated language as this is scarcely more than one hundred years old. Confucius, though he is said once to have compared himself to heaven, would surely have been opposed to such extreme glorification of his virtues. Indeed, he is supposed to have spoken in an almost apologetic tone of that which required no apology—the humble condition of his family in his early years—"*When I was young my condition was low;* and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, *but they were mean things.*" (*Analects*, ix., 6.) His father's family was of noble, even regal, descent; but through no fault of his own poverty had fallen upon him. Confucius as a little boy of three years old, deprived by death of his father's care, played at his mother's knee—not making mud-pies for empty amusement, but arranging vessels in ritual order. And when he had entered his teens, we see him—surely no ignoble occupation, or one to apologise for—sent to the hill-side

to tend goats and cattle; and there he sits sunning himself, while the beasts lie down at noon, musing on the mystery of human life, the disorder of the land, the possibility of reform, and the surpassing dignity and interest of the ancient annals of China—ancient already in those ancient days.

At the age of fifteen his more earnest student life began: "I had my mind set on learning," he says (*Analects*, ii., 4.) His absorbing interest in China's ancient worthies and literature dates also from that age. "I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking knowledge there" (*Analects*, vii., 19); "eager in pursuit of knowledge," so he describes himself. He forgets his food in the joy of its attainment; he forgets his sorrows; and he does not perceive that old age is coming on. A nobly simple description of the nobler elements in his character and life!

We follow then the wandering steps of his scarcely eventful but most earnest and purposeful career. He married at the age of nineteen; not happily, we fear; but Dr. Legge discredits the sadder part of the story. At the age of twenty he took office in a subordinate post, and he began public teaching at the age of twenty-two —and this formed the leading occupation of his life—sometimes a resident, sometimes a peripatetic philosopher. His one great theme was the unfolding and expounding and enforcing of the precepts and examples of the ancient sages. He was a willing and charitable teacher—never refusing a pupil because he could not pay full fees, but not caring to spend toil on unsympathetic

and listless learners. At the age of twenty-nine he studied music; and this ever-favourite accomplishment of his, often cheering him and soothing him in sorrow or imminent danger, led him on to the "standing firm" in right principles, which he dates from his thirtieth year. Shortly after this we find him at the city of Lo, where the Court of the Chou dynasty resided; and his not very dignified or instructive interview with Lao-tzŭ, the founder of Taoism, coincided with this visit to Lo. Lao-tzŭ was inclined to ridicule the, to him, affected formality and legalism of Confucius, and the pettiness, as he deemed it, of his principles. Confucius retired from the encounter aghast, as he confessed himself to be, and unable to follow the dragon in his metaphysical flights.

After following the Duke of Chou in his temporary refuge from feudal warfare to the territories of Ch'i, and being despised and neglected there, he returned to Lu, and during some fifteen years of enforced leisure he employed himself in the truly great work of editing and rearranging the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*. Then, in the year 501 B.C., commenced the one brief period of high office held by Confucius. As magistrate of Chung-tu and Minister of Crime there, trusted by the reigning Duke Ting, he is said to have "made crime to cease"; and as the idol of the people, and the subject of their songs and praise, he spent the next six or seven years with some grave mistakes, but on the whole with conspicuous integrity, till the Duke intoxicated and blinded by the mingled luxury and vice supplied by a

rival duke for his fall, neglected his invaluable Minister, and Confucius left in sorrow. Long wanderings were henceforth his lot, but he was not alone, as his faithful disciples followed him ; and to these disciples, or rather to their pupils and successors, we are indebted for the singularly interesting yet disappointing narrative of his life and sayings and doings, the *Lun-yü* or *Analects*. He devoted much time to the study of the *Book of Changes* ; and in his seventy-first year, 481 B.C., he composed the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or *Spring and Autumn Classic*, a narrative, drier than dust we deem it to be, of his native state from 722 B.C. downwards. He had staked his reputation on this work, but his country and posterity are kinder and truer to the Sage than he was to himself, and his fame is enshrined within surer and fairer covers than those of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. In the Spring days of 479 B.C. Confucius died.

This summary of the events of a great but little, a "small" yet most "superior" man, to use his own words, fails, and a much fuller narrative also will fail, we think, to account satisfactorily for his long influence and living fame. A scholar, a great editor and bibliographer, though not perhaps a great writer, his commanding influence cannot be explained altogether or mainly by his literary fame. Great writers sway the world by their writings, and not always, or indeed generally, perhaps, by force of personal character. Confucius rules one land alone, or two (for Japan reveres him also), but that means a large fourth of the human race ; and he inspires reverence in all Far-Eastern hearts,

literate and illiterate alike. Whence comes it? Not, we venture once more to affirm, from the religious and soul-satisfying character of his teaching, but from the substantial honesty and integrity of the writer. Question the great Sage: Can you inform us about the Supreme God? And lo, Confucius uses the supreme name of God, known to the great Emperors and worthies of the past as Shang Ti, only once in all his personal teaching. Generally speaking he uses the impersonal term "Heaven." He sanctions also the worship of spirits, and he reduces thus the Supreme God of the ancients to the position of one amongst the host of Heaven. "He perceived that the ancients did worship one God"; "but he allowed this knowledge to become sterile." Confucius was a complete stranger to the higher motive of pleasing God. "The 'superior man' does not much raise his thoughts to a Father in Heaven" (Foster, *The Ideal Man of Confucianism*). "Unreligious, unspiritual," is Dr. Legge's disastrous verdict on the great Sage. Ask him now about a future life, and the great "after death." His answer is explicit, honest, but profoundly disappointing and chilling:—"While you do not know life, how can you know death?" Ask him then about that which he surely comprehends, if it be the very essence and concentration of his teaching—ancestor worship, and the serving of the spirits of the departed. It is all vague and uncertain: "While you cannot serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" "Do the dead then have knowledge of our worship and services, O Master?" "There is no urgency on this

point," he says. "Hereafter you will know for yourselves." Ask him finally about something which is of imminent urgency—sin, and its forgiveness and cure; and the answer comes in the wailing of despair: "He who offends against Heaven has no one to whom he can pray." (*Analects*, iii. 13.)

In moral tone Confucius can rise far higher than this vague, helpless teaching. "Man is born to uprightness." —"If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape from death is a mere accident." (*Analects*, vi. 17.) And infinitely more noble than the "not being" in sensation, and the consequent goal of "not doing" (the Nirvana of orthodox Buddhism), is the "not I"—the *unselfish* duty of not doing to others what this personal self dislikes—which Confucius in this negative form three times over, and once in positive form, inculcates.

"Confucius," says a Chinese thinker in English dress and language, "has made the Chinese the one nation in all the history of the world who genuinely abhor violence, and reverence reason and right."

A proud and noble description of what Confucius aimed at, but hardly of the result and rich fruit of his life and work.

"Confucius," said another, "did much to undermine the realisation of the personality of God in the minds of his countrymen—and failing thus to give any religious basis to his keen practical ethics, these very ethical theories are vitiated in practice."

We think that either view is exaggerated, and we believe that a more sober estimate of the Sage, and one

more just to his own aim and object in life, might be expressed by a Chinese somewhat in the following words: "Here is a man of our own kith and kin, who amid surrounding disorders in the State bore himself bravely. *Laudator temporis acti*, he was no mere dreamer. He was a true lover of his country and her people, and knowing that righteousness in public and private life is the only security for peace and prosperity, he loved righteousness, and set himself to reform the people and the Government by bidding them look at and study the high examples of the past. What if he failed sometimes? What if his sun set in gloom? This does not lessen our admiration and love and reverence for the man, and we decline to put our Confucius on a lower pedestal of honour and veneration than that assigned to your philanthropists and reformers of the West. But we do not thereby exalt him to Divine rank, or regard him necessarily as a great religious teacher."

If this may be taken as the sober estimate of Confucius' worth, as judged by a thoughtful modern Chinese, we see that anything we say about the great Sage's failures must take the form of criticism, not so much of the imperfections or errors of his religious teaching, as of the fact that he never really professed to teach religion or form a religious system at all. Still in him we see how restless and dissatisfied the world of China was in those ancient —and yet, compared with the time already past, modern—days of religious thought. Instead of contenting himself with a belief in the mysterious conflict or interaction between the *Yang* and the *Yin*, and the

need of magic and exorcism to defeat or expel the evil, Confucius seems to have lifted himself almost wearily into a higher sphere of righteous action, and to have stopped short only of access to and trust in the righteous God. Yet there is some trace at least of such a trust in his later years. Dr. Williams* describes as history the last solemn deposit of his complete literary works on an altar by Confucius himself, dedicating the whole to Heaven for the benefit of his countrymen, and imploring the blessing of Heaven (did he mean the Lord of Heaven?) on his labours. A noble close indeed to a not ignoble or fruitless life. His failure lay in not preaching all his life long, instead of possibly at the last alone, the existence and attributes of the Supreme Shang Ti, of whom his almost adored "men of old" had told him not a little, and so satisfying the restless souls of the people and lifting them to look to the Divine Father ("Oh! vast and distant Heaven, who art called our Father," sings one of the ancient Chinese poets) for spiritual influence and salvation of body and soul alike.

On March 4, 479 B.C., Confucius died. His disciples raised a mound over his remains *ære perennius*; for it continues to this day, venerated, adorned, and enriched by successive dynasties; and even the most lawless rebels have treated it with respect. His disciples mourned by the tomb for three years, and the devoted Tzŭ-kung dwelt in a hut by its side three years more. The doctrines of the Sage were transmitted by a

* *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XI., p. 421; Pauthier's *Chine*, pp. 161–184.

succession of disciples, the most conspicuous being K'ung Chi or Tzŭ-ssŭ, the grandson of Confucius, to whom the authorship of the most interesting treatise, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, is ascribed. The work and merits of Confucius were recognised by those in authority at once after his death; but partly through the political confusion of the times, and partly by the conflicting views of philosophers, contemporary or immediately succeeding, such as Yang Chu, Lieh-tzŭ, Mo Ti, Chuang-tzŭ, and others, it was not till Kao Tsu, the first sovereign of the Han dynasty, c. 200 B.C., visited his tomb, that high recognition was accorded to his memory by Imperial command; a memory which Shih Huang-ti (221 B.C.) had endeavoured to obliterate, and which Mencius, as we have said, did much to rescue from the sea of conflicting errors and to glorify. We have noticed above the remarkable activity of thought and action connected with the earlier days of Buddhism in China and Japan. More wonderful by far is the extraordinary vivacity of the play of intellect, philosophical, mystical, metaphysical, and of practical research and didactic import, during those centuries which saw Lao-tzŭ, Confucius, Mencius uprise—the age which introduced Pythagoras also, and Plato the Great, Aristotle, Zeno, Demosthenes, to the Western world.

Yang Chu, the Epicurus of China, if that does not defame the yet doubtful fame of Epicurus, and Mo Ti, perhaps the first prophet of amiable yet thorough-going Socialism and Communism, flourished during the years between Confucius and Mencius. "The words of Yang

Chu and Mo Ti," said Mencius, early, apparently, in his career as a teacher and reformer, " fill the Empire " ; an exaggerated statement perhaps, but a proof of the remarkable spread of their antagonistic views. To either of these Mencius offered himself as a powerful opponent ; and he brought forward as his chief weapon the principles of Confucius, with his own fuller and freer philosophy. " Each one for himself " was Yang Chu's motto.

" Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," cried Solomon, in his philosophic struggle with the mysteries of human life. " All things come alike to all. As is the good, so is the sinner. There is one event unto all. Time and chance happeneth to them all. There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and make his soul enjoy good in his labour."

So Solomon, till his Epicurean frenzy—never defiled, however, by unmitigated selfishness—is reproved and calmed and solemnised by the words, " Know thou that for all this God will bring thee into judgement." He that feareth God shall come forth from these labyrinths of trouble and perplexity and dark despair. Epicurus and the melancholy Lucretius fall lower :

" Live while you live, the Epicure would say,
And seize the pleasures of the passing day."

But these, Epicurus would protest, are mental, not sensual pleasures—a restriction and limitation which his followers too easily laid aside. And here, too, there are no voices of God, of judgement, and of a life to come, to break the *spell* of sensual vanity or mental insanity—

" The sober majesties
Of settled, sweet, Epicurean life."

of pleasure, pleasure, pure or impure, for self, till man and all things shall vanish—

> "Atom and void, atom and void
> Into the unseen for ever."

Not so the Chinese Epicurus, Yang Chu. Strong as the spell was of his teaching for a time, so that Mencius put forth all his power to oppose him, yet he sank so low in his motives and methods for life on earth, that no Chinese voice is raised in his defence or praise, and his system and teachings are discarded. But their very audacity and their temporary spread are a phenomenon remarkable in a country where, we have reason to believe, from the very first righteousness and high morality have been revered and desired.

"Everyone for himself," cried Yang Chu. "Your good men, enduring toil and trouble, blows and violence it may be, in the path of what they call duty and integrity, have no pleasure in this life; they die as early or as late as the bad; there are bands in their death; a sad ending—and that is all. Your other men, following and enjoying pleasure wherever it can be found, and of whatever kind it may be, sexual, licentious, luxurious, intellectual perchance, perchance gross and low, yet spend pleasurable lives, and come no faster to the grave nor slower than the good; but there are no bands in their death; it is natural, not hard; and there is an end. Is it not the best bargain for self, to care for self alone, and leave God, if there be a God, and other men alone?"

No wonder that Mencius, eager and earnest, like his

great master Confucius, for the stability of the State and of society, the foundations of righteousness, was indignantly opposed to this teacher and his system. But it is a symptom, perhaps, of a mind not quite evenly balanced that he should have felt and expressed the same indignation against Mo Ti and his principle, so diametrically opposed to Yang Chu's detestable tenets. "Each one for himself," cried Yang Chu. "Love all equally," cried Mo Ti—and this not licence in love, but the restraint of self-love for the good of others. "The common weal has to be placed in the foreground; the highest moral act of the individual was found in making sacrifices for all." "Yang Chu taught egoism, Mo Ti altruism" (Giles). Mencius would have none of it. "It means," he said, "that no special love shall be assigned to father, or to sovereign. That is the state of a beast." The same objection Confucius himself entertained to the high and noble precept and injunction of Lao-tzŭ, "Reward injury with kindesss," to which we have alluded above. Mo Ti's followers exaggerated their master's principles and teaching beyond the bounds probably that he himself contemplated, and sketched out a scheme and results mischievous, impracticable, and self-destructive, such as generally accompany societies and communities unrestrained and uninspired by the higher and Divine laws of social and philanthropic and charity-founded order.

Mencius considered the discomfiture of these two teachers as the great achievement of his life. But he did more than this, and his story deserves a further though necessarily brief notice. Mencius (the Latinized

form of Mêng K'o or Mêng-tzŭ, "the Philosopher Mêng") was born in the fourth year of the Emperor Lieh, 372 B.C., and died, aged eighty-three, in the year 289 B.C., the twenty-sixth year of the Emperor Nan, with whom closed the long course of the Chou dynasty. Few details have been preserved as to his personal history, and perhaps his life and character and acts were so human, and so near to Chinese genius and predilections, as to discourage the glamour of myth and invented legend round his birth and early years. He was a descendant of one of the noble families of Lu, the same state of which Confucius was a native. He was deprived of his father's care and teaching by early death; but his mother, whose name is familiar to all China, devoted the most sedulous care to the boy's training, and thrice changed her abode so that her son's "environment" might not harm him; and as a lesson to him, when listless and idle at his studies, of the danger of thus marring the web of a noble and useful life, she is said to have destroyed with a knife a web of cloth on which she was working. Mencius had, later, the singular advantage, as of a legacy of learning and wisdom, of the instruction of a disciple of K'ung Chi, the grandson of Confucius himself (this is the assertion of the great historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien), and receiving thus in direct descent the doctrines of the Sage, the enforcement and exposition of these formed the chief object and employment of his long peripatetic career. His name is honoured as "Sage second" to Confucius, which may also be rendered "Inferior Sage"; and in the year A.D. 1330 (his fame and influence growing all the time),

an Imperial decree invested him with the additional title, "Second Sage, and Lord (or Master or Head)." His tomb is still reverently guarded near the city of Chou Hsien in Shantung.

In the opinion of some scholars and students of China and the Chinese, Mencius holds a higher position than number two in the affections and esteem of the people. Nothing will dethrone Confucius, indeed, from his pedestal; but "Mencius is almost the darling of the Chinese." "There is no other work in the whole range of their literature so living and real as 'Mencius.'" As a school-book its style is such that it is a treasure intelligible to all. "The chief dicta of modern Chinese ethics and politics are mostly taken literally from Mencius, or adhere closely to his teaching" (Legge). But he is in no sense a rival or a usurper of the teaching and honour of Confucius. His great object, like his master's, was the teaching of political economy. To him the State is the sum of all human endeavours. Through his direct opposition to the sensationalist and to the socialist in their extravagances detailed above, he saw himself necessitated to base his political economy upon ethics, and his ethics upon the doctrine of man's nature. The ethical problem is solved for him by the utmost developement of all the good elements in man's nature.* And here, without criticism or antagonism, he yet joins issue both with Confucius, and, if we mistake not, with Lao-tzŭ also, the deepest thinker on this profound subject. The philosopher Kao, a contemporary of Mencius, insisted upon

* Faber, *Mind of Mencius*, p. 17.

the fact that man's nature is neither good nor bad, denying at the same time any essential difference between good and evil, virtue and vice. The philosopher Hsün, a little later, taught that human nature is evil, and that the good sometimes shown is fictitious. The philosopher Han holds a middle and very perplexing course. He describes three grades in man's nature: the higher good and always good, the centre capable of being led upwards or downwards, the lower evil and irrecoverably evil. Confucius, so far as his few and rather vague utterances lead us, evidently recognised the bias to evil in nature, though, as we have noticed above, he describes men as made originally for virtue. Lao-tzŭ recognises the evil, denies that it can be changed, or ousted, or eradicated by law, but urges the yet impossible achievement (to philosophy alone) of going back behind law to recover the original nature, by which, as the law of necessity and blissful custom, good was always done. Mencius disagrees, and yet comes nearly into line with all. He teaches that man's nature is good, but capable of change or developement. And if for nature these old philosophers had substituted conscience, which, save when seared or stifled, is ever on the side of good, as the surviving voice of the good nature whose essence and form had been almost lost and grievously deformed by man's historic fall; and if the will was introduced as the arbiter, and that greatly biassed for evil, between the two voices—then Confucius was right; then was Lao-tzŭ on the right track, and then, too, is Mencius not far from the Divine original. It may be further suggested that if we are

concerned here only with a doctrine of origins, and that of the human race at first, and not of individuals at present, then the first sentence in the first horn-book for Chinese children—"As to man's original, his heart was naturally good"—is good doctrine, and also the opening words of the *Doctrine of the Mean*—"Man's nature is by the decree of Heaven." It is remarkable that Lao-tzŭ's dream of the recovery of the original natural good seems echoed in the confession of Mencius that mankind have lost their old minds or hearts, and the search for the lost mind is a search of the first importance, though men are moved to active and anxious enquiry more when their fowls or dogs go astray than when the immortal mind and soul and heart are wandering (*Mencius*, VI. i. xi.). He speaks in another place (IV. ii. xii.) of "losing the child-heart."

Few further details have reached us as to the family life and early years of Mencius. His married life seems to have been unhappy, but his wise and kind mother's counsel was with him again and again, restraining and guiding him; and we gather that she must have been a woman of very superior character, and that to her influence and training her son's distinguished life of integrity and public benefit is largely due. Mencius was forty years old before that life really began of more restless change and activity in reform than even Confucius experienced. He travelled from place to place through scenes of disorganisation and internecine strife. The long drawn-out dynasty of Chou was ready to vanish away, and the smaller feudal fiefs or principalities, such

as Lu, Chêng, Wei, Wu, Ch'ên, and Sung, conspicuous in the *Analects*, were, with no vigorous suzerain at hand, subjected and almost blotted out by the larger ones, till Ch'i remained in a precarious state with three new and temporarily vigorous kingdoms—Wei, Chao, and Han—carved out of the thus dismantled Chin, and threatened also by the dangerous state of Ch'in in the west (the eventual overthrower of the Chou dynasty only thirty years after the death of Mencius), and by Ch'u also in the south. Here we find the sage, during twenty-four years of hopes and fears, much like his great master and exemplar Confucius, travelling from place to place as invitations reached him or opportunities seemed to call him—teaching, reproving, exhorting, suggesting, and sometimes instituting reforms—with two long visits to the chief state of Ch'i, where King Hsüan, the "Illustrious," received him, and now listened to his counsels, now parried his arguments; then, leaving Ch'i with regret but with despair, he found a home in T'êng, to the southward, where he met with a sincere admirer and docile pupil. Thereafter we find him in Chou, having left his hopeful work in T'êng which had resulted more in theorising than in active reform, but was enlivened by his encounter with Hsü Hsing, a dreary but noisy levelling democrat of that era, who would have the monarch go back to the plough, even as Shun came from the plough to the throne, teaching the liberty, equality and fraternity of every one caring for himself, and servant to himself—the ignoble freedom from subordination, and from the kindness of serving one another. Then in Liang he

sought to restrain the war-loving monarch, and thence we follow him back again in Ch'i, with hope of better things from King Hsüan. His mother died during his stay in that State, faithfully and lovingly following him thither. He buried her with almost prodigal magnificence, as a protest against the Mo-ists, with their doctrine of "no flowers," no wrappings, but parsimonious niggardliness in funeral rites. Then he left Ch'i finally, and in confusion. His last long effort to influence the rulers of his time towards integrity, righteousness, and just government, to reform and regulate the State, and thus secure the peace and prosperity of the people, had as its scene the State of Lu, and as he approached his sixty-third year, his grand climacteric, we lose sight of him, and as Dr. Legge in his elaborate biography reminds us, his active ministry closes, and we can only conjecture him as spending the remaining twenty years of his long life amid the more quiet and congenial company of his disciples, discoursing to them, and compiling the great classic which is the true memorial of his life and character and achievements.

What had he done? On only one occasion, if we mistake not, did he surrender the high ethical tone of his teaching and exhortations—an opportunist for the moment, ready to allow a ruler to give the reins to his pleasures and lusts, if he kept a tight and just rein on his government and care of the people, forgetting, what he seldom did forget, that righteousness not only exalts a people, but also is the truest nobility of the ruler. This was an exception. His real attitude towards righteousness

was reflected in his famous saying: "I love life and I love righteousness. But if I cannot retain the two, I will let life go and hold fast to righteousness." The rule was teaching of the same high moral tone which Confucius uttered, and a whole-hearted devotion to his country's good. Yet he seems even less spiritual and theistic in his teaching and in his thoughts than the great master himself. He, like Confucius, uses the word and title Shang Ti only once in his own utterances, though not seldom in quotations. "Heaven" he speaks of; but whether as a personal Supreme Being or as a principle must be uncertain. It seems strange that many centuries were allowed to elapse before his writings were accepted amongst the classics of the Empire, and till he was admitted to share in the sacrifices presented to Confucius. This occurred first in the year A.D. 1083, and after a momentary degradation at the hands of the first founder of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1372, he was promptly reinstated, and finally raised to yet higher honour A.D. 1530.

The following brief extracts with which we close this narrative of China's second and scarcely inferior or secondary sage show the estimation in which he is held by his own people; and for these reasons, and apart from higher and deeper estimates of character and belief, we may whole-heartedly join in acclaim and gratitude. Han Yü (A.D. 768–824), statesman, philosopher, poet of the T'ang dynasty, writes thus of Mencius:

"When Yang and Mo walked abroad, the true doctrine had nearly come to naught. It is owing to the words and earnestness of Mencius that learners now-a-days

still know to revere Confucius, and to honour benevolence and righteousness."

The justly celebrated philosopher, Ch'êng, of the eleventh century, A.D., will not admit that Mencius quite reached the exalted rank of a sage, but that he was a great worthy, and that his learning had reached the extremest limit he readily allows. He compares Mencius to ice or crystal bright and clear, through which you can see defects as well as beauties. Confucius he compares rather to a precious gem, with less brilliancy, and not so pellucid, but with a softness and richness and strength and solidity all its own. Yet the same great scholar shows surely both brightness and strength in this comparison—perhaps hardly fair to the elder sage, but yet remarkable as independent Chinese opinion :

" Confucius spoke only of *benevolence*. But as soon as Mencius opens his mouth, we hear of *benevolence* and *righteousness*. Confucius spoke only of the will and mind ; but Mencius enlarged also on the nourishment of the passion nature. In these two respects his merit was great."

Mencius, he says once more, and with this some Western critics agree, had much of the heroical about him. The scholar Yang, again, a friend of Ch'êng and his no less illustrious brother, eulogises Mencius mainly for his persistency in describing the goodness of human nature —and herein he seems to us simply to emphasise the confusion or only half-truth of this great contention, " Man must rectify his heart." If so, surely it is implied that the heart is not as it should be. " The lost heart

has to be found"—*ergo* it has wandered from the path of integrity and right. And if this be so, it will not do to argue as Yang makes Mencius argue, that "the heart being rectified, we recognise at once the goodness of the nature"—for it was the very fault and failing of the nature which caused it to err. Mencius knew not, and yet how nearly he touched the truth! "Except a man be born again," "Put off the old man," "Put on the new." Chu Hsi, himself the most eminent amongst the later Chinese philosophers, earnest student for a while of Buddhism and Taoism, and then keen and ardent, if not presumptuous, expositor and critic of the ethical writings of the Confucian system; metaphysician, materialist, sceptic, identifying the dubious idea of God with the word *Heaven*, and hence apparently identifying God Himself with a mere principle; speculator as to the mystery of ages, the origin of evil, and the principles of creation; historiographer also, recasting China's greatest historical work, the labours of Ssŭ-ma Kuang (A.D. 1009–1086): he, too, pronounces judgement on Mencius. "When compared with Confucius," he says, "Mencius always appears to speak in too lofty a style; but when we hear him proclaiming the goodness of man's nature, and celebrating Yao and Shun, then we likewise perceive the solidarity of his discourses." (Legge: Prolegomena on Mencius.) A special biography and discussion on the teachings and speculations of this most remarkable and now authoritative commentator and independent thinker, Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130–1200), would be imperative in a larger work on the many phases

of Chinese life and history; but it must suffice here to notice that his notes on the classics are so far accepted as orthodox, though obviously controverting the views and tenets of the great master in some points, that till recent changes they were printed with the text, and committed to memory by all Chinese students. The style also of Chu Hsi's writings, while maintaining the fine idiom and polished balance of the *wên-li* of Confucius, and the old time before him, is yet easier of comprehension and less rugged than the higher and more antique language of books. It has been largely followed in modern translations into Chinese of Western literature. Chu Hsi has also ascribed to him the doubtful honour of being the chief formulator of the great system of *fêng-shui*, "wind and water," which governs and tyrannises, in geomancers' and necromancers' hands, Chinese thought and action.

The family of historiographers, the Ssŭ-ma, is also worthy of special notice. Before the great and long-lived Chou dynasty the family had held, so they claimed, the hereditary post of Astrologer, and they boasted of their descent from the mythical vicegerents of heaven and earth, Chung and Li. Ssŭ-ma T'an, who died 110 B.C., held office under the Emperor Han Wu-ti, and commenced the historical compilation, which was completed by his son, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, c. 145–85 B.C., perhaps the most eminent of this remarkable family. Ssŭ-ma Piao (A.D. 240–315) is noted as an historical commentator. Ssŭ-ma Chêng (A.D. 720), calling himself humbly the Lesser Ssŭ-ma, made the historical records

of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien the study of his lifetime, and composed an introduction to this work, stretching it further back to the fabulous period of Fu-hsi (Mayers *in loco*). And, finally, Ssŭ-ma Kuang (A.D. 1009–1086) appears, with his *Comprehensive Mirror for the aid of Government* (alluded to above, as edited and recast by Chu Hsi), a synopsis of national histories from the Chou dynasty downwards. The historiographer is not necessarily a leader of thought, or a religious teacher, and such men and their writings come more naturally under our following chapter on literature. But we mention this family here as an instance of the great versatility of Chinese literary genius, and in connection with that feature in one of her most able and versatile writers and leaders of thought, Chu Hsi.

Before our final biographical notice of the senior leader of Chinese thought, Lao-tzŭ, to whom reference has already been made in the earlier part of this chapter, it is worth noticing, as a further proof of the versatility of Chinese writers, and of their bold independence, that Lao-tzŭ, Confucius, and Mencius were all freely (and, according to the estimate of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, with "boundless audacity") criticised by a writer too little known as the most original and judicious of China's metaphysicians—Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 19–90). He exposed the "exaggerations" and "inventions" of Confucianists and Taoists alike, and rises in the domain of natural philosophy far above some of the more fantastic beliefs of his countrymen, and adds interrogations of Confucius and criticisms upon Mencius without fear. (Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 239.)

The difficulty of treating Lao-tzŭ as a leader of thought or a religious teacher lies in the fact that instead of his being a voluminous writer, or editor, or redactor, as Confucius was, and Mencius yet more fully, there is only one literary composition generally accepted as genuine and authentic from his pen, the *Tao-tê Ching*. And further, while his person and brief history remain in Chinese annals and memory, yet his religious system, if it could ever have been really formulated as such by himself, was so speedily enlarged and confused by his immediate followers, Chuang-tzŭ (fourth century, B.C.) and Lieh-tzŭ (fifth century, B.C.) respectively, and later by Chang Ling (first century, A.D.)—this last commentator introducing many elements of mystic superstition, the study of alchemy and elixirs of life, and also an elaborate pantheon and worship of the deified powers of nature—that the original teacher and his philosophy are not felt as powers in the moulding of Chinese thought or religion so much as they deserve, if such an expression of patronage and criticism is allowable.

At the same time—and this further confuses the problem—we are indebted for the most reliable exposition of the inner meaning of the only genuine writing of Lao-tzŭ to these very disciples who added teaching and speculation obviously foreign to their great leader's mind. Other documents, however, published probably not earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but popularly ascribed to Lao-tzŭ, and doubtless containing much of his primal teaching, exist, and are everywhere read, and largely mould Chinese ethical thought

and instruction. These books, which are entitled the *Book of Rewards and Punishments* and the *Book of Secret Blessings*, are not without ethical and spiritual teaching of a lofty tone. For instance, "Recompense injury with kindness"—a precept which Confucius could not understand; for "how then," he demurred, "will you recompense kindness?" "Rejoice in the successes of others, and sympathise in their sorrows as though they were your own experience." "Empty yourself of passions; keep the inner man with all diligence; cherish gentle compassion, economy, humility. Be chaste, but do not chasten others; and learn not to impute wickedness to the unfortunate." Peace was to Lao-tzŭ his highest aim. "The victorious general must be chief mourner at the great funeral of the dead in battle." And both Lao-tzŭ and his illustrious successors, Chuang-tzŭ and Lieh-tzŭ, also soared higher—to the very confines, one would believe, of the uplands of the knowledge of God; so much so, that it has been conjectured that Chuang-tzŭ in particular must have had some access to the divine truths of Old Testament Scripture, or that, at any rate, the truth of man's original nature being in the Divine Image and of the converse between heaven and earth may have somehow reached him, and the echoes, sounding above the clamour of magic and the false doctrine of the Tao, were recorded by him with human expression: "Man must rise above his human nature into an ever-enlarging and boundless perfection by an esoteric fellowship with the Tao of Heaven. Human nature is opposed to the

Divine, and must entirely disappear, before the Divine can be fully manifested." "Put off the old man; put on the new," is St. Paul's rendering of this guess at truth. The early Jesuit missionaries, Amiot, Montucci and Rémusat, believed they could discern in the *Tao-tê Ching* something better than the Taoist highest hope for man, which is his eventual return to absorption in the vast, intangible first principle from which creation has proceeded. This latter idea is the Taoist Nirvana, the "passionless bride, divine tranquillity" of Lucretius, and a doctrine similar to Brahman thought, the earliest of the series. The Taoist Nirvana in its turn probably guided Buddhist theories.

It is noteworthy that Chang Ling is identified probably with Yü-huang Shang-ti, "the great and precious god," a deity invented by the Taoists in their earlier days of polytheism, forced by the rivalry of the many objects of Buddhist worship. Lao-tzŭ himself was deified in their estimation, but his deity was supposed to be so absorbed in tranquil contemplation that the care and order of creation must be ascribed to other hands. And it is remarkable that this idolatry was so generally accepted by the Chinese during this Christian era, and the supreme and sacred word "Shang Ti"—God—had become so identified in their minds with Yü-huang—*i.e.*, notoriously, with a deified man—that some translators of the Bible and of Christian literature with great persistence refused to render the supreme word "GOD" by "Shang Ti," since it was thus degraded and defiled. Instead they adopted the word "Shên,"

with its primary sense of spirit, and its advantage as a generic divine term—GOD, the great Spirit, and also as applied to spirits in whom there is a divine element in Chinese classical usage: "I have said, ye are gods." The term adopted early by the Roman Catholics has also been used both for Bible and Prayer-Book translation, "T'ien-Chu," "the Lord of Heaven";—obviously an unsatisfactory term, since it is a description of one of the prerogatives of God, and not the name God itself; and, moreover, it lends itself even less to generic usage than does "Shang Ti." And if "Shang Ti" spells "Yü-huang" to uninstructed readers or hearers, "Shên" or "Shên-ming" spells "Huo-shên"—god of Fire—to the same readers. "Shang Ti" has been forced into generic use by the Taoists, who speak of "all the Shang Ti of the heavens." This long drawn-out controversy is nearly over now, and "Shang Ti" has been lifted from the confusion and defilement of idolatrous usage to its high position once more, as the noblest term in the language for the Supreme God; even as St. Paul, upon Mars' Hill, ignoring or defying the false fatherhood ascribed to the false and low Jupiter, in the hymn of Cleanthes, lifted and glorified the great name "God" as unique and alone worthy of worship and praise.

Lao-tzŭ was born in the year 604 B.C., in the province of Honan; and the very house in which he is said to have lived is still pointed out in his native district, Hu-hsien. But singularly few details of his life are handed down to us. When he was "keeper of the archives" in

the Imperial Court of Chou, Confucius came to see him, and to deposit a book in the archives—"Aristotle come to see Socrates," as this interview, to which we allude above, has been called. Certainly the sarcasm of Socrates sent the poor philosopher (afterwards and still so honoured, whilst Lao-tzŭ is half-forgotten) crestfallen and perplexed away. "The *I-ching*," Confucius had said, "treats of humanity and justice: I am studying that book." "Humanity and justice!" Lao-tzŭ replied: "Don't beat a drum to bring back a truant sheep! The profession of and talking about humanity, filial piety, loyalty, and so forth, show that they have lost their original colours; if men would practise these things, instead of talking so much, the very names of vices would be lost." "Many prohibitions," he says again, "afford in themselves a proof of the fall and guilt of man." "Let not the people be slaves of rules, but freemen of principle." What man needs, Lao-tzŭ seems clearly to teach, is not the mere yoke of prohibitory or enunciated law, but that "time should run back and fetch the age of gold," and that man, getting behind all formulated law, should be moral without effecting constraint, direction, or prohibition, a possessor of the "*beata necessitas boni*," a possibility guessed at in Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty"—

> "Glad hearts without reproach or blot,
> Who do Thy work, and know it not."

Next, history describes Lao-tzŭ as throwing up the office which he held, translated by Julien and Pauthier as above—but by Legge as "Treasury keeper," and by

others as "keeper of the Imperial Museum." Foreseeing the decadence of the house of Chou, he retired from public life, and, cultivating Tao (the "Way"—the "Doctrine"—the "Word," used significantly to translate St. John's use of λόγος—"Reason," the "Primal Principle," "Nature," "Providence," all these are suggested renderings of this word) and virtue, he resigned himself to a life of retirement, seclusion and contemplation. Eventually, finding himself not even thus free from danger and disturbance, he took his journey into a far country, passing out of the province through the frontier pass Han-ku, and after instructing the governor of the pass, Yin Hsi, at this scholar and astrologer's earnest entreaty, in the doctrines of the Tao and Tê, and after committing to his hands the treatise now known as the *Tao-tê Ching*—composed probably in 517 B.C.—he finally disappeared from sight and from all reliable history, though not from legend (523 B.C.). These dates, self-contradictory, are yet approximate. History, as we have said, is strangely reticent; but legend has been busy with his story. He went westwards—did he not?—descending the pass in a chariot drawn by four black oxen; he visited Western lands, and is said to have planned journeys, including India and Judæa. Chuang-tzŭ, indeed, describes both Lao-tzŭ's death and the death of his own wife, as of those for whom mourning is out of place, because they have reached the long quietude of eternity. Legend follows him both backwards and forwards. His birth is described as of a child with features and general form

so old as to have suggested the name "Old Child"; and, indeed, he is said to have been eighty years old at birth. But a previous incarnation in the year 1321 B.C. is also ascribed to him, and an earlier appearance yet, as Kuang-ch'êng-tzŭ, contemporary with and instructor of the Emperor Huang-ti (2697 B.C.). And once more not only are *avatar* mentioned subsequent to his historical disappearance described above, but also the wonder of his stretching a hand through the darkness which shrouds the unseen, and placing in the hands of Chang Ling a treatise containing the secret ingredients of the elixir of immortality.

It is well again to emphasise the fact at this point, when endeavouring to specify the teaching and beliefs of Lao-tzŭ and the Taoist system of religion which claims him as its "great and high and venerable head," that Taoism now is not Lao-tzŭ; and the so-called State Religion, Confucianism, is not necessarily Confucius; and still less is Buddhism in China identical with the creed and teaching of Shakyamuni, Gautama Buddha. It is interesting, further, to notice that Lao-tzŭ's idea of a passive following of nature, without legal constraint or necessity, save of original and right inclination and instinct, is the ancient but sadly objectless and ambiguous "quietism" of China. His idea of absorption into mother-nature, the Taoist Nirvana, did not, it is plain, captivate the Chinese mind, any more than did the orthodox Buddhist doctrine of absorption into nothingness, the cessation of conscious being, appeal to the Chinese. Taoism, therefore, must needs invent the

elixir of life, and the Isles of the Immortals; and Buddhism appears not with Gautama and his Nirvana as objects of worship and hope, but with Amidabha and the Western Paradise.

It is disappointing, and almost irritating, to trace the mixture of wisdom and folly, of deep and high philosophy and of fruitless fancy, of adumbrations of eternal truth, and the gathering clouds of superstitious error, which are ascribed to Lao-tzŭ, either direct from his own utterances or from the lucubrations of his followers, and of those who claim the ægis of his name for their own gratuitous elaborations of hints they profess to find in Lao-tzŭ's utterances. We cannot but feel, when examining Lao-tzŭ's manipulation of the word "*Tao*"—which forms half of the dual subject of his one classic, and is the word, the entity, or the ideal, which gives its name both to the Taoist system in China and to the Shintō (*shên-tao*) religion of Japan—that both with Lao-tzŭ and with Confucius's grandson in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and with Confucius himself ("If a man in the morning hear the *Tao*, he may die in the evening without regret"), it implies and includes very much more than the interaction of the *Yin* and the *Yang* alone in the "course of this world." Lao-tzŭ affirms that he does not know whose son this *Tao* is—"It might appear to have been before God." Chuang-tzŭ says that it existed before time, which has no beginning, had begun. It is impersonal, passionless, working out its appointed ends with the remorselessness of Fate, yet overflowing in benevolence to all. "What is Tao?" exclaims Huai-nan

Tzŭ (or Liu An, 122 B.C.) in his *History of Great Light* —ardent votary as he was of the mystic researches of the Taoists—"Tao is that which supports Heaven and Earth. Hidden and obscure, it reinforces all things out of formlessness. Penetrating and permeating everything, it never acts in vain. It fills all within the Four Points of the Compass. It contains the Yin and the Yang."

Now, man's great object, the goal of his hope for the future, the secret of life worth living now, must be conformity to this Tao, this Nature, or Principle of Nature—this pathway of souls, and of all things—this Doctrine of the Way. How is conformity to be secured? "By being always and completely passive"; "Non-exertion"; "Not doing"; "Inertia," with its "vices." Spontaneity and the absence of design also must be attained. Passionless, as well as quiescent, man must banish all desires from his heart, and simply yield himself to his environment. "He need not be a recluse to be quiescent. Holy men there were, who did not abide in forests. They did not conceal themselves, but they did not obtrude their virtues" (Chuang-tzŭ). In politics, in education, in social reform, leave things alone. In quiescence, simplicity, and content, so pass through this troublesome world—troublesome because of its fussy ways, its legality and strife, and endeavour—and pass back to repose, unconscious in the arms of the Tao, the mother Nature. But the old philosopher awakes from his dream with a start and a tremor, lest this *laissez-faire* attitude of mind and body should mean

violation of the original good in man and in nature. Easy-going yielding to lust, and selfish abandonment to " the pleasures of sin " he almost shouts at. " Rejoice at the success of others, and sympathise in their sorrows, as though it were your own experience." " Empty yourself of passions; keep the inner man with all diligence, cherish gentle compassion, economy, humility (a noble trio of virtues, indeed!); watch against the small beginnings of evil." Yet these precepts, Lao-tzŭ must have noticed, reproduce the very laws and injunctions which his quiescence cannot tolerate, and require that active exertion of the soul's conflict which is so far nobler than the letting things and Nature itself drift.

It is not easy to trace the points of possible contact and evil inspiration in Lao-tzŭ's teaching, from which commenced the fatally rapid descent from these high-soaring speculations, during the Han and succeeding dynasties. Lao-tzŭ as a philosopher, and as a great thinker and speculator in the realms of abstract thought (it has been said of him that he first taught the thoughtful Chinese really to *think*), and as the possible founder of a religious system, has vanished. But while his name survives as the supposed patron of the superstitious and idolatrous customs now called Taoism, a nobler survival is his, in the memory cherished by the Chinese, and the effect which can hardly be estimated of his high ethical teaching. His dreams and far-reaching speculations, as to origins, and principle, and power in Nature and in all creation, in the world of mind and in that of things

visible, find substance and Divine reality alone in Him Who has assumed and now must for ever appropriate the great word "Tao." "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth."

CHAPTER VII

Literature and Education

In these days of change and upheaval, hastily conceived for the most part, and too hurriedly carried out, when Western enthusiasts seem to imagine that it is their vocation in this new century to educate the uneducated Far-Eastern nations, and to civilise the uncivilised; and when Young China also is so eager to accept the Western offer without knowing what it really means, and to assume that wisdom, and learning, and literature worthy of the name come from the West alone, it is worth the while to survey for a moment, before the great vision fades perchance from history and even from investigation and study, the wealth of literature—ancient, mediæval, modern—which China possesses, and to examine its system of almost universal education—universal, that is, so far as area and influence are concerned, not certainly as to the number of individuals educated—not compulsory, not state-financed or enjoined, but voluntary in the noblest sense, and largely beneficial and powerful in its influence; and now supplanted and discredited after a life and history of nearly thirteen hundred years.

When we speak of Chinese literature it is a not uncommon mistake to imagine that the expression refers almost entirely to the Five Classics and the Four Books

edited, transmitted, and partly written by Confucius and Mencius. *The Book of Changes*, *The Book of History*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Rites*, in several parts, *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (from Confucius' own pen)—these are the Five Classics. The Four Books consist of *The Great Instruction*, *The Invariable Mean* (the Golden Mean), *The Analects* or Miscellaneous Conversations of Confucius and his disciples, and lastly *Mencius*, the similar but far more elaborate records of the table or peripatetic talk of this "second great Sage" with his disciples.

But it seems certain that Confucius, as he himself admits and asseverates, was not the morning star of Chinese literature and scholarship. Not an author or creator was he, but a transmitter; and in the old time before him, many thinkers, and philosophers, and historians, and poets had flourished—their labour passed into oblivion, or embodied and embalmed in these books and classics, rescued, rehabilitated, glorified by this great *laudator temporis acti*, this noonday splendour to which the prehistoric morning star and dawn had pointed. And most wonderful again is the stream of literary activity in criticism, exposition, creation, narrative, imagination, which took its rise from Confucius, and has been flowing and enlarging ever since. It was said of a scholar in the early days of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) that he was not a walking dictionary indeed, but a walking library, and this has been true in a very definite sense of an unbroken and multitudinous line of scholars during the last thousand years or more, who have

committed to memory and have retained the whole or the greater part of these classical and orthodox books—a mass of literature about equal in bulk to the whole of the Bible. We have known (in these later days, when the education of women, so gravely neglected by literary and educated China in the past, has been suggested and experimented on by Mission girls' schools) children under twelve years of age repeating the Four Gospels in Chinese by heart. This great art and gift of memorising, which in the folly of being in a hurry both Western and Eastern pedagogues and "Educational Departments" are abandoning, possibly a necessity in early years from the difficulty of multiplying copies for the schoolmaster's pupils, but more probably a token of what they deemed the priceless and never to be forgotten value of these documents, has somehow *not* succeeded in "stunting the genius, and drilling the faculties of the mind into a slavish adherence to venerated usage and dictation, making the intellects of Chinese students like the trees which their gardeners so toilsomely dwarf in pots and jars." (Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, 1857, I., p. 431.) If this were generally the case, the full stream of literary activity, "so careful of the type," indeed, and yet so full again and again in subject and style and treatment, would have dried up long ago. Other hostile influences, besides the weariness and monotony supposed to belong to artificial and forced learning, have been enough to discourage and blight anything short of a genuine genius and love of literature and language. Wylie gives us a list of five great calamities, he calls them "bibliothecal

catastrophes," which seemed at the time thus to ruin and almost obliterate China's literary history and fame and treasure.

The first was the notorious burning of the books in B.C. 213 by the despot of Ch'in, with the notable exceptions, not often mentioned, that the Records of Ch'in were to be preserved, and that certain officials were not required to give up their copies of the *Odes*, or *History*, or of the works of the various philosophers, besides the well-known exemption of books on medicine, divination, and agriculture. This was not so much an act of illiterate vandalism, as an act of astute policy to prevent discontent and treason arising from the study and discussion of antiquity. So he made this desperate attempt to make all Chinese history and literature begin again (obliterating the past) with him and his dynasty which had been formally constituted in B.C. 221.

In 190 B.C. the persecuting and repressive edict was revoked, and before the close of the Former Han dynasty (A.D. 25), with great expenditure of memory and inquiry and search, a large library was collected, consisting not only of the recovered Classics, but also of works by nearly six hundred miscellaneous authors. This collection also was burnt during the insurrection which closed the dynasty, and its destruction forms the second great catastrophe.

In the reigns of Kuang-wu Ti and Ming Ti, the first two Emperors of the After Han dynasty, great efforts were made to restore the lost labours, and it is said—surely somewhat rhetorically—that when the reinstater

of the dynasty returned to the capital at Lo-yang, he had more than two thousand vehicles laden with written records. This era is always regarded as of special vitality and vigour in the history of Chinese literature. About this time also came in the invention and use of paper, instead of the ancient use of bamboo and wooden tablets, perforated in the case of bamboo, or engraved or written on with ink, and the later use of close-wove silk for writing material, with the anticipatory name "paper"; so expensive, though durable, that many who could not afford it used as a substitute a kind of sedge—papyrus was it? The new paper, called the Marquis Ts'ai's paper, after the inventor Ts'ai Lun (A.D. 105), was made from the inner bark of trees, ends of hemp, old rags, and fishing nets, and was also called bark paper, hemp paper, or net paper, according to the material employed. Fine paper is made at the present time by the Japanese from the inner bark of the dogwood tree, and they endeavoured to introduce the industry into China a few years ago, stripping the hill sides in Chekiang of that particular tree under official sanction.

During this same eventful dynasty (between the years A.D. 172 and 177) the art of printing was, in fact, though not in full effect, discovered. The classics, revised by a literary commission, were cut in stone and placed outside the National College; and as impressions or rubbings were probably taken from these slabs, and the obvious hint of the art of block printing was before their very eyes, it is strange that it lay dormant for nearly seven hundred years. The engraving of seals, also, and

impressions of course taken from them—a very ancient art indeed—formed plainly the germ of the art of block printing. During fresh disorders at the end of this dynasty the palace at Lo-yang was again burnt down, and in this conflagration, and during the turbulent times which followed, the greater part of the books were again lost. This is the third great bibliothecal catastrophe.

Again, but in still troublous times, the cause of literature was patronised and helped and fresh collections of books were made; and these about the year A.D. 300 amounted to 29,945 books, till under an imbecile monarch the library fell into decay, and fire for a fourth time (A.D. 311) seemed to ruin and exterminate Chinese literary treasures.

For a fifth and, as the narrator says, a last time the literature of China seems to pass through the flames, yet still a phœnix in new life and literary survival. Under the Eastern Chin dynasty and the minor Sung, when Buddhist literature began to appear and to find its place in the national libraries, great efforts were made to collect books; and the language was enriched by some thousands of new characters. This was in the fifth century, and the court was then held at Nankin. At the end of this century a library of 18,010 books was burnt by military incendiarism; and half a century later the Emperor Yüan Ti (552-555), fearing the approach of hostile troops, rather than allow them (so we imagine his mind to have been swayed) to fall into the enemy's hands, himself set fire to his library and burnt more than

seventy thousand books in Ching-chou. A great final catastrophe indeed! It must be carefully noted that, with the exception of the first, none of these catastrophes implied the destruction of all the books in the Empire, but only the final loss of a certain amount of books in certain localities.

But this was not the final holocaust, after all. The Emperor Yung-lo, third in succession of the Ming dynasty, early in the fifteenth century employed a great staff of scholars—more than two thousand in all—for five years in the compilation of an encyclopædia, including all that had been written on (1) the Confucian Canon; (2) History; (3) Philosophy; and (4) General Literature—astronomy, geography, cosmogony, medicine, divination, Buddhism, Taoism, handicrafts and arts. This work, never printed, from the enormous estimated cost, ran into 22,877 chapters, making 11,000 volumes averaging half an inch in thickness, and measuring one foot eight inches in length by one foot in breadth—making a column, if so arranged for curious comparison, higher than the top of St. Paul's. The number of pages was 917,410, and of words 366,000,000. Three copies were transcribed, although not all three apparently for printing, as one at least is in the cursive style, with red titles, and punctuated, and carefully bound in yellow silk. Two perished at the downfall of the dynasty in 1644, and the third was in great part destroyed—with countless other literary treasures—in Pekin, on June 23rd, 1900, during the siege of the foreign Legations.*

* Giles. *The Civilization of China*, p. 201.

XIII.—A PAGE OF A BOOK

[*To face p.* 267.

We must not attempt to follow the stream of literary life and activity through the, for it, less eventful eras which follow—the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), the golden age of Chinese bards, and the five short dynasties which occupied half the tenth century A.D., during which period block printing, which had been known in the Sui dynasty (A.D. 590-618), and practised to a limited extent in the T'ang dynasty, became more generally adopted. Hangchow was famous for the specimens of fine printing, some of which the writer has seen in a great library now alas! broken up and scattered; and in A.D. 952 on Imperial order, the nine classical books, the Confucian canon, were revised and printed.

The Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1127) has been designated "a protracted Augustan age of Chinese literature," and it may be summarily asserted that since those golden days literature and education have never been discouraged, whether by foreign rule of Mongol or Manchu, or by the favourite dynasty of patriotic Chinamen, the Ming; and this of itself is a proof of the vitality, and popularity, and versatility of this great characteristic of the Chinese race—the love of literature and reverence for the great historic past, and delight and pride in the power and potency of their language.

It is an interesting evidence of the way in which conquering powers are sometimes civilised and absorbed by the civilisation and intellectual supremacy of the conquered, that during the Mongol Yüan dynasty, so high was the esteem and reverence for the Chinese classics, that they were translated into Mongolian by command

of Kublai Khan, and the attempt was made to print them thus for Mongol use in the newly-invented Mongol script.

During this dynasty, however, the tendency which had crept in under the native Sung dynasty was matured, and this perhaps indicates a somewhat illiterate dissatisfaction with the pure and austere *wên-li*, or style, of the ancient literature—a tendency towards the introduction of the colloquial dialect of the court and of the Northern provinces—*kuan hua*—into literature, and even into Imperial decrees. Plays and novels were written, providing a very valuable thesaurus of this dialect, and a dictionary also appeared of the *kuan hua* pronunciation. Literature in colloquial dialects, however, whether in this so-called "mandarin" tongue (the speech of more than half the nation), or in any other of the numerous local dialects, is not considered worthy of an orthodox scholar's notice or study; and this contempt or disapproval will apply probably more to books written and printed in Chinese character than to the now considerable Biblical and Christian colloquial literature of translation and exposition printed in English letters.

The reason for such a prejudice would not be far to seek, and it throws light on the nearly unique nature of Chinese. Chinese *wên-li*, or literary style, and its expression in writing or print, means not so much the translating into sign or character of words previously enunciated and familiar in sound and meaning, but it means the expression in signs—primarily pictorial, and

so suggestive, and then purely arbitrary from the lack of pictures to keep pace with what was wished to be depicted—of ideas, thoughts, sentiments, facts (a clause of speech or a sentence being sometimes wrapped up in a sign simple or complicated in composition). So that the literary "classical" Chinese language is not a *lingua*; it is not a dead language thus speaking, for as a speech it has *probably* never been alive; it is not a living language, for it is not meant for speech (though it can be enunciated according to the pronunciation of each district or dialect); it is a language for the eye, not for the ear; for study, for reading, for elegant composition, and official document, and largely, though in a looser style, for correspondence. If it speaks, it expresses itself in the colloquial of the mind, not, unless translated, in the colloquial of the lips. This we believe to be a fairly accurate exposition and explanation of a difficult and intricate phenomenon. But it is conceivable, on the other hand, that this book language, or *wên-li*, represents an archaic speech as well as a script which has now to be translated into one or other of the eight chief colloquials of the land before it can convey the meaning involved in the script to the ear or mind of the hearer.

The signs or characters, in which this almost sacred language is written, acquire, therefore, a sacred nature, and it is an act of merit to collect and gather up with reverent care stray paper, lest it should have any of this honoured writing on it. In writing or printing colloquial literature, when no legitimate or

recognised character can be found to express the word or idea desired, one is chosen which has a sound resembling or in some way recalling the sound of the colloquial word. Thus a sense foreign to their true meaning in classical Chinese is conferred on these characters; and such "white" or vain characters are regarded as an insult to the language and to the reader. In a few instances a *wên-li* character conveying the same meaning as the colloquial word aimed at is employed; though when read aloud it is pronounced as though the actual colloquial word were in the text.

One cannot help sympathising strongly with this Chinese jealousy, and with their desire and resolve to conserve rigidly the structure of their ancient and most expressive and powerful language. But it seems now inevitable that the barriers will be thrown down, and that for the expression for instance of the multitude of technical words and phrases in science, and scientific books which China is demanding, either as translations or in their original dress, multitudes of adapted and mutilated and dethroned characters must be used, and the ancient and unapproachable style be forgotten or whelmed in the flood. But this, observe, does not imply poverty or stunted barrenness in classical Chinese. It is unsurpassed when wielded by a master pencil, and a master mind guiding that pencil, in combined elegance and terseness of idiom, in well-balanced periods, in minute nicety of meaning, conveyed by rightly chosen particles even, and by marked intonation, and by depths and heights of thought expressed in concise phrases

which have arrested and have kept busily occupied commentators and expounders all down the ages.

A notable discovery has recently (A.D. 1900) been made at Tun-huang, close to, if not identical with, Marco Polo's Sachiu, in Kansu, not far from the Sinkiang or Kashgar border, of caves, nearly five hundred in number, whose sides were covered with writings or inscriptions, and some of them with closed chambers filled with manuscripts, paintings, statuettes, and inscriptions—the writing chiefly in Chinese, but with Tibetan, Uigur, Mongol, and Brahmi script as well. One chamber in particular, undoubtedly closed and walled up early in the eleventh century, and apparently with some haste, as the different treasures lay as they were thrown in, pell-mell, has been carefully examined by Mr. Stein and M. Pelliot. From fifteen to twenty thousand manuscript rolls, piled to the height of a man, lined three sides of this cave, which was about eight feet square. The latest dates recorded on any of the contents of the chamber are between A.D. 976 and 997. Paintings on silk, and manuscripts inscribed on paper lie thick. Beautiful manuscripts of the seventh and eighth century are to be found; but later manuscripts, some of which are preserved in the British Museum, exhibit the work of uneducated and uncivilised hands, the very writing showing deterioration. The caves are now, and apparently have always been, under Buddhist and Taoist care or patronage, and they are called the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. But the manuscripts are multiform. There is a remarkable

almost complete Manichean treatise, the fullest known ; and a brief but interesting Nestorian tract called *Praise of the Three Adorable Ones* ; the travels of the Buddhist Hui-ch'ao in India, A.D. 730 ; some specimens of tenth century printing ; and some very early and excellent rubbings also. Careful study may show features of great importance in this discovery as to Chinese antiquities ; and though it may not illustrate very definitely that literary enthusiasm and literary taste which we have dwelt on above, yet it shows this love of letters in some sense living on, and a resolve on the part of literary enthusiasts a thousand years ago, to preserve all the manuscripts they could collect from the devastating effect of printing on the one hand, and from a sixth " bibliothecal catastrophe " of fire on the other.

But we want to know more of the fountain head and historic authorship of those really ancient books of China. Confucius, in a passage familiar but tantalising to the last degree, speaks thus : " A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'êng." (*Analects*, VII. 1.) We do not challenge the accuracy of the comparison, if only we may know who " our old P'êng " truly was. Chu Hsi, the great critic and commentator and historian of the twelfth century, but one whose influence and authority has been probably much exaggerated, assumes that old P'êng was a worthy officer of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766-1122). If so, and if he lived in the earlier years of that semi-historic period, his days may have been contemporaneous with some of the earliest events

narrated in those classics which we are investigating. Yet he too, if Confucius is right in his comparison, was a transmitter and not a maker, a believer in and a lover of the ancients. He, ancient, venerable, lost in the mists of conjecture, can hardly have been the author or original compiler of the books. For there were lovable and estimable "ancients" in an old time before him, and ancients whose books he transmitted We fail to penetrate into the *arcana* behind "our old P'êng"; but there doubtless sprang into the life of a national characteristic, not only the composition of books, recorded on bamboo surface, or silk, or papyrus, or sedge, or paper, or latterly on blocks or by movable type, but this very literary genius itself, this distinguishing merit of China's high and early civilisation. There are indications also of the use of the surface of bones in writings, for there are some still extant of great antiquity with tracings like scratches or cracks, made by a diviner's red hot poker, a rude application of what might have been a finer process, and with considerable inscriptions engraved on them by means of a metal point.

Before giving some account and brief analysis of the subjects and contents of this literature *par excellence* of the Chinese, and of the system and results of education intimately connected with these ancient books (which will form our chief topic in the closing pages of this chapter), it is only due to the literary fame of the Chinese of which we have just spoken, to give some idea of the wide range which Chinese general literature covers. The following is a short digest only of Mr. Alexander Wylie's

Notes on Chinese Literature,* a book which will well repay more extended study.

The *Dictionaries* of the language claim our first notice. These are of two kinds: those in which the word-characters are arranged according to the radical parts of these signs—the number of radicals ranging from 540 in A.D. 100, 542 in A.D. 523, 544 in A.D. 1070, to 360 and finally 214, the last and orthodox limit, under the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644). The great dictionary of K'ang-hsi (A.D. 1716), with its forty or fifty thousand words, is arranged under these 214 radicals. Other dictionaries, of the seventh century, for example, arrange the characters under 36 initials and 206 finals—the number of finals reduced later to 160, and much later, in A.D. 1711, with Imperial sanction, one appeared under 36 initials and 106 finals, and marking the five chief tones, namely the upper and lower even tone, and the three deflected tones, ascending, departing, entering, or in full measure, with lower and upper variations for each of the four divisions, making eight tones in all.

With reference to *Histories*, besides the great Historical Classic edited by Confucius, and his own addition—the *Spring and Autumn Annals*—we have already noticed the work of whole families of historians from the first century (B.C.) to the eleventh (A.D.).

* First published in 1867 and reprinted in 1901. Though some corrections and much additional information have appeared in various journals and periodicals since 1867, Mr. Wylie's book remains, I believe, the only systematic treatment of the whole subject in English. Professor Giles' valuable *Chinese Literature* (1901) treats the matter in a quite different and more popular style for English readers.

Biographical literature includes narratives of the lives of famous women (published quite early in the Christian era), and of famous men distinguished in art and arms and song. Professor Giles has published a translation and compilation of a Chinese Biographical Dictionary, containing 2,579 short lives of distinguished men and women, from the earliest times to the present day.

Books of *Travel* are very numerous; an itinerary, for example, published in A.D. 1717, of a journey from Ssŭch'uan to Hangchow, occupying at least two or three months. And the well-known narratives of the journey of individual Buddhist devotees, and then of three hundred to India in search of relics, come under this category.

The enumeration of books on *Mathematics* occupies twenty-four pages of Mr. Wylie's catalogue, and the lives of Mathematicians, 312 in number, down to A.D. 1799, are given in another book, Euclid and Ricci being on the list, a list brought down subsequently to 1840.

In *Geographies* the Chinese language is very rich; and *Topographies* of the most minute description are published. The little market town of Lung-hua, five miles from great Shanghai, and the Chao-pao hill, near the mouth of the Ningpo river, a hill often bearing the brunt of assault during the long tale of China's internecine and foreign wars—both of these spots are minutely described. In A.D. 646, the Buddhists published an account of a hundred and thirty-eight countries in Asia. A special treatise on tides was published in A.D. 1781 by a Chinese scholar at Hai-ning, a town at the mouth

of the Ch'ien-t'ang river, past which the great Bore periodically rushes.

Catalogues of Chinese literature have been published from time to time, one in two hundred volumes commenced in 1772, but not completed till 1790. *Military Tactics* were described in a book published 2,500 years ago by a soldier named Sun Wu; and *Law* was handled in a book published a little earlier.

The *Plough* was discussed twelve hundred years ago, and in the year A.D. 1210 the justly celebrated *Kêng chih t'u shih* was published by Imperial order—describing the growth and preparation of rice and silk, with forty-five pictures and illustrative verses. The silkworm was written about under Kublai Khan, A.D. 1273; and again in 1844.

A *Medical* treatise, entitled *Search and Enquiry*, is ascribed to one of China's more mythical Emperors, Huang Ti, B.C. 2697; the actual date given being probably incorrect and legendary only, but its actual high antiquity probable. In this connection it is noteworthy that though the Chinese have known practically nothing of anatomy and have not practised surgery, yet their medical science and achievements have been remarkable. Acupuncture was discussed A.D. 1027, and is still practised. The pulse was written about in the third century B.C., a treatise reprinted in 1840. The celebrated *Pên-ts'ao*, the *materia medica* of China, was published during the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), and cholera and small-pox were discussed early. Inoculation has been practised for a thousand years and more.

Vaccination was introduced by foreigners A.D. 1805, and is now largely practised and under local official sanction.

Astronomical treatises, with later appendices representing the earth as spherical and ascribing the variations of temperature and the length of the day to latitude, were published during the old Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–255),* and a treatise on Trigonometry was published at the same time ; and Logarithms owe their discovery and description to China. Divination and Geomancy have a literature of their own ; and a *Book of Fate* was published more than two thousand years ago.

Painting has been practised all down the centuries, and a critical notice of fifteen hundred painters appeared in the fourteenth century ; and the painting of the bamboo, a favourite subject with both Chinese and Japanese artists, is discussed in a treatise of the eighth century.

Music, the *Drama*, and *Dancing*, appear in treatises of the ninth and tenth centuries. The *Tea Classic* appeared in the eighth century A.D., and a treatise on *Ink* in A.D. 986. *Botany* was written upon during the Chin dynasty (205-450), and the culture and beauties of the Peony in the eleventh century, and the Chrysanthemum in the twelfth century. Cyclopædias appear in the fifth century. *Romance and Fiction* appear very early in the Christian era, if not before it.

The first Index at the close of Mr. Wylie's *Notes* gives

* Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 86.

the titles of 1,212 books, ancient and modern, described and referred to in the *Notes*; and as many of these are Encyclopædias, and collections of many smaller works in one or more volumes, besides a number of recognised "Collections of Reprints," some idea may be formed of the extent and range of Chinese literature. For this collection forms but a tithe of the books included in the immense thesaurus printed by movable copper types near the close of the seventeenth century. The printed catalogue of a collection made for the Emperor himself and known as the *Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu-mu-lu*, contains 3,440 separate books, with 78,000 chapters, besides 6,764 other works in 73,242 chapters not included in the great Imperial reprint.

The press in China has been remarkably free. There is a censorate, but mild in operation. The *Index librorum prohibitorum*, mentioning (in 1867) about 140 prohibited books of at reasonable or licentious tendency, is circulated by order amongst the book shops.

Now, turning from this brief conspectus of the literary activity of the Chinese, and of their passion for literature, we offer an analysis of what is known as the Confucian Canon, and forms the main subject and pabulum of the old system of education, and which especially, and up to quite recent times, provided almost the sole source for the subjects set in the periodical competitive examinations. In passing, however, we notice one other evidence of this literary taste and passion of the Chinese, and one giving some hope that amidst the upheavals and hurried changes of these latest times, there may be some

true conservation of this instinct and genius of the nation. There exists in Pekin a group of antiquaries into whose hands, for instance, some of the most valuable manuscripts discovered in the sealed cell at Tun-huang have been committed ; and they are searching with great activity and jealous care for similar literary treasures ; to be, in special cases, edited and printed for the literary world to examine.

The *Wu Ching* or *Five Classics*, stand first in order and authority in the Canon, and the *I-ching*, or *Book of Changes*, stands first among the five. It is probably the most ancient of the five so far as individual authorship can be ascertained. The celebrated and most mystical eight diagrams or symbols, including our old friends the *Yang* (No. 1 *Ch'ien*, or the Expanse of Heaven) and the *Yin* (No. 8 *K'un*, or the Earth), the two principles of generation and change evolved from the one ultimate principle of being, the T'ai-chi (" the Supreme Apex " or " Most Ultimate," as de Groot renders the words), interacting, harmonious, and not originally antagonistic, and producing in their turn the four shapes or seasons—these diagrams are ascribed to Fu-hsi, the reputed founder of the Chinese polity (2852 B.C.), and by him ascribed to the markings on the back of the " dragon-horse," the tortoise, which placid and mysterious creature appears continually in Chinese divination. These eight diagrams, together with the eight times eight hexagrams composed by Fu-hsi or his successors, formed probably the basis of philosophy and divination up to the twelfth century B.C., when Wên Wang, the

founder of the Chou dynasty (1143 B.C.), spent his time while in prison for some supposed state crime, in poring over and studying and explaining what he could divine of the mysteries hidden in these symbols and their Imperial commentaries. This is the origin of the *I-ching*, and Confucius when editing and transmitting the book added his own observations; and since his time about fourteen hundred and fifty treatises on the *I-ching* have been produced, including Chu Hsi's attempted exposition of the aphoristic expressions in this classic, but all leaving it an unsolved yet profoundly suggestive mystery. As a religious work it cannot be classed or examined, for it has no such aim or ambition, unless it be to formulate and endorse the superstitions and exorcism which so early usurped the idea of religion with the Chinese. As an ethical work, its value is as assumptive as the assumptions on which it is based, for it deducts the principles of human good conduct from observing the combinations and successive evolutions of the *Yin* and *Yang* in nature (the electrons, is it?) interacting in nature and in man physical and spiritual. "Idolatry in China, *sc.* Religion, means the worship of the gods" not from adoration, love, or devotion, but "in order to disarm demons by their means." Ethics, according to this "holy, ancient, venerable" book, are the goodness which proceeds from the *Tao*, manifested in the universal *Yin* and the universal *Yang*, Heaven and Earth, powers now represented as "in perpetual conflict," now as "benevolently co-operating;" and sacrifice and worship are spoken of as the due Divine offering to the jarring yet harmonious

servants and handmaids of the *Tao*, and men's goodness consists in imitating the goodness of nature. The value and influence of this book in education would seem to be negative, if effective at all; mystifying to the intellect, and obscuring to the moral sense. Perhaps we misjudge it, but if China regains her balance of sober sense and reforms, instead of, as now, wrecking her ancient educational system, this *I-ching*, the only book spared by the vandal Shih Huang-ti, shall be the only one sacrificed to the vandalism of this new enlightened China. Yet, unless Confucius himself is finally dethroned, it will not be easy to dethrone that book from an educational curriculum, of whose value the great Sage exclaimed: "If several years more of life were granted me, I would give fifty to the study of the *I*, and then I might live without any considerable errors." (*Analects*, VII. xvi.)

The second and third in the list of the five classics are not ascribed to any individual author, but their present, or rather their ancient, form of compilation or editing or redaction, is due to Confucius. The *Book of History* is composed of the historical records of the dynasty of Yü (2852-2205 B.C.), of the Hsia (2205-1766 B.C.), the Shang (1766-1122 B.C.), and the Chou (from 1122 B.C. down to the seventh century B.C.), when history proper is supposed to commence. We are not informed as to the condition in which these records, ancient even to far off Confucius, came into his hands, and whether he simply transmitted them or introduced any editorial changes. The preface to the collected records is ascribed

altogether to Confucius. The oldest document in the series or compilation is the *Canon of Yao*, who reigned 2356-2258 B.C. Confucius himself complains of the carelessness of some of the historiographers in the minor subject states of these earliest dynasties, and of their unreliability, so that we must conclude that he had satisfied himself as to the genuineness and authenticity of those which he finally collected, edited, annotated and transmitted. "The Master would not expose himself to the risk of relating or teaching what he could not substantiate by abundant evidence," so writes Dr. Legge; and we may add that the same scholarly and honest research and care must have guided Confucius and his disciple Tso, in the composition of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the amplification of the same. That narrative carries on the history especially of Confucius' native state Lu, from 722 B.C., near the terminus of the *Shu-ching*, to 484 B.C., the Sage's own time. These *Annals* form the fifth of the five great Classics, and with the *Shu* have instructed in history the Chinese, in their curriculum of education and examination all down the ages. If it be deemed a work of uncivilised ignorance that China has known history to so limited an extent for two thousand years and more, we must remember first that the history she did know and study forms no mean or insignificant chapter in the world's story; and secondly, that if we deem China a barbarian for her ignorance of the great West, how comparatively recently the enlightened and civilised West might have been termed barbarian for her crass ignorance

of the history, and geography, and antiquities, and civilisation of China, representing a quarter of the human race.

The third Classic, the *Shih-ching* or *Book of Odes*, consists, like the History Classic, not of the work of a single author, but of ballads, national songs and odes, set and sung to different lyres in different periods of China's old time. The Emperor Shun, the Cincinnatus of China, 2317-2208 B.C., is regarded as the father of poetry, with his minister Kao Yao as collaborator and, perchance, critic. This Chinese Burns or Barnes learnt thus the art of song from the birds singing to him as they weeded his fields or twittered among the sedge banks while he was busy with his nets. There are obscure allusions in the *Li Chi* or *Book of Rites* to an ancient custom of the Son of Heaven, when making tours of enquiry through the realm, to have the odes, recently or more remotely composed, of each region declaimed by the grand master of music, so that the condition of morals and order in the state might be ascertained. Possibly from this function of the odes the place of the *Book of Odes* in the curriculum of education may have been determined. Shun could not ascertain so much what he wanted in his remote days of rule, for poetry and song existed we are told at that time only in this ancestor poet's mind or on his own lips. But he may have so framed his song as to make song henceforth ethical, educational, and civilising. Now these odes floating about in the time of Confucius, and the series having apparently come to an end, the

Sage, awed by the beauty and power of all things ancient, made a collection of 311 excerpts as some say (the great historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien is the chief authority here)—an anthology carefully selected from the three thousand or more actually in existence. Other authorities assert that he simply accepted, as they existed in his day, the odes at that time surviving; and that he reverently transcribed and learnt them, and, commending them, handed them down to posterity. The odes seem so far to have been national, that though many of them have a local colouring and application, they were interchanged with other local ballads and generally circulated. After the death of Confucius, and during the Han dynasty, four different editions or versions of the Confucian canon of poetry were published by as many redactors, but only one has survived the burning of the books and the perils besetting literature which we have described above. This special version now in our hands is ascribed by its compiler and copyist, Mao Ch'ang, to the direct handing down of his master's work by Tzŭ-hsia, a well-known disciple of Confucius. It is noteworthy that in both of these very ancient compilations, the *Shu* and the *Shih*, the name and title and attributes of a Supreme God are much more clear and definite than in the ancient *I*.

Rhyme is found very frequently in Chinese poetry, probably the earliest appearance in the literature of the world of this graceful adjunct, or, as some will have it, this artificial constraint of verse. Their rhymes, even the legal and authorised rhymes dealt out at the public

examinations to the extemporaneous writers of a short Seatonian or Newdigate, seem to our ear uncertain and untrue at times, but this may be accounted for by varieties of enunciation, and by the gradual changes which have taken place in the ancient sounds, tone also as well as sound being an important factor and one not easily seized by a European ear. *The Odes* are divided into four main sections, each with sub-divisions, and these most numerous under section I. These four divisions are entitled the Characteristics of States, the Lesser Eulogium, the Greater Eulogium, and the Songs of Homage, or, as Dr. Legge renders the title, Sacrificial Odes and Praise Songs. Any adequate description of these ancient songs is quite impossible in a handbook; but there is one special feature in them worthy of particular notice (besides the absorbing interest in these ballads and love songs, and pæans, and dirges, which have been sounding for three thousand years or more), and it is this—the normal characteristic of a Chinese ode. Each stanza, consisting, say, of four lines, will commence with a picture from nature, slightly varied though still the same scene in the different verses; and this is followed in each case by a brief narrative of human joys, and woes, and hopes, and fears, not always obviously in harmony with the picture from nature, though with some recondite meaning implied. Occasionally a refrain without variation follows the varied description of nature in each verse. Here, for instance, is an ode of the simplest description written at about the time of Solomon, in which the refrain occurs without change

in the original, though we have slightly shuffled the same words in the translation :

" Peach tree so fair,
Thick the flowers bloom.
Deftly to rule,
Goes the bride home.

" Peach tree so fair,
Fruit bends thy boughs.
Deftly to rule,
Home the bride goes.

" Peach tree so fair,
Leaves thy stem hide.
Deftly to rule,
Home goes the bride."

The extreme difficulty of rendering this concise antique verse into English of the same rhythm and metre is caused by the monosyllabic character of the Chinese language. Our epithets, for instance, for flowers and foliage, such as gorgeous, splendid, luxuriant, fragrant, umbrageous, and the like, are represented in Chinese by words every whit as expressive, but each idea is packed into one syllable, the nouns as well being monosyllabic. The verse, therefore, is far fuller and more expressive than English can hope to become within the same compass. " Deftly to rule," in the ode given above, is a rough rendering in four syllables of the Chinese four words which mean literally " she will set in order her chamber and her house."

Here is another of these ancient Chinese odes in stanzas of six lines instead of the more usual four, but still with only four words in each line. The ode describes the desolation and despair of a patriot when contemplating

the confusion and anarchy of China about the beginning of the seventh century, B.C.

" North wind blows cold,
Thick falls the snow!
Lovers and friends,
Join hands and go.
All false, all vain,
Haste, haste away.

" Moans the sad wind,
Thick drifts the snow!
Lovers and friends,
Home let us go.
All false, all vain,
Haste, haste away.

" Red fox for flowers,
Black crow for gloom!
Lovers and friends,
Ride with me home.
All false, all vain,
Haste, haste away."

The country is described as so completely wrapped in its winding sheet of snow, that the only dash of colour or symptoms of the flowers of Spring or shade of Summer ever returning were the vision of the red fox and the black crow, and the anarchy-desolated land showed an almost more hopeless outlook than the stretches of unrelieved snow.

Now the educative power of poetry over elegance of expression, and refinement of thought, and the flower of imagination, and over the moral nature itself for good or harm is undoubted, but just possibly this nature painting and corresponding moral picture in the *Odes* may be, however unconsciously, a carrying out of the

idea named above, that human goodness is swayed by the contemplation of the virtues of nature, and of her interacting principles.

The books on ritual, with the now general title of *Li Chi*, formed the fourth of the *Five Classics*. The rituals are really three in number, the *Chou Li* or *Ritual of Chou*, the *I Li* or *Ritual of Decorum*, and that which alone is included in the *Five Classics*, the *Li Chi* or *Book of Rites*. The first two are generally attributed to Chou Kung, the Duke of Chou (1181-1105 B.C.), the virtual founder of the great dynasty of Chou which lasted 1122-255 B.C., for he was the wise and strong assistant and counsellor of his elder brother, Wu Wang, the first Emperor of the line, and as the guardian and presiding genius of the newly created dynasty he is ranked in Chinese history for virtue, wisdom, and honour, as only yielding the first place to the great Yao and Shun. The *Chou Li* treats of the order and duties in decorum of the various subordinate magistrates of the dynasty; the *I Li* treats rather of social and individual duties of order and decorum in private life and under varying circumstances. The present *Li Chi* is a recension and compilation of the scattered, and in some places fragmentary copies of the ancient rituals made during the first century, B.C.; for these books, having suffered more than any other of the classics from wilful or accidental injury and mutilation, are of less established genuineness and authenticity than the others. It is this latest work which by Imperial order takes now full rank as fourth in the canonical classics. The discovery of the "south-pointing chariot,"

1100 B.C., is, but on doubtful authority, attributed to Chou Kung; and in one of the later edited rituals, the *Ta tai li* (an earlier edition of the *Li Chi*), a Calendar of the Hsia dynasty is given, which, if genuine, presents us with an astronomical document four thousand years old. The purport of these treatises may be surmised from the various but cognate meanings attached to the word *li*. All that pertains to propriety, etiquette, ceremonies, rites of worship and reverence to higher powers; and besides this, decorum, good manners, politeness, becoming attitude regulated by station, and courtesy in all ranks, such are the subjects treated of in these ancient *records*, "sorted silk threads" as the word *chi* may denote. Their value is so intrinsically great in Chinese eyes that they hold, and have held for nearly two thousand years, a prominent position in the education of the people. They are interesting to Western students as presenting, in Callery's words, "the most exact and complete monography which the Chinese nation has been able to give of itself to the rest of the world," and, he adds, "more also about the religion of ancient China than can be learned from all the other Classics." But Callery, too cynically and too drastically, seems to sum up Chinese character as ceremonialism and formal etiquette, and her religious thought and ritual as marked by mingled speculation and what is almost indifference. Yet the educational value of such books must be more than the infliction and perpetuation of mere stiff and lifeless etiquette when reverence, filial piety, obedience, subordination to lawful authority, and courtesy as a

right from man to man, and not as a rite merely, are inculcated.

The fifth in order of the five classics, *The Spring and Autumn Annals* or *The Years*, we have noticed above, and now follow the *Four Books*, which complete the *Nine Canonical Treatises* and compilations of Chinese authoritative and sacred literature. These four are the *Ta Hsüeh*, or *Great Instruction*, the plan of which is a dissertation on the two stages in education and moral regulation, namely, the individual self and the family, the State and the Empire. The second book is the *Chung Yung*, *The Invariable Medium*, composed by a grandson and worthy successor of Confucius. This book treats of human conduct as distinct from its motives and sources, which had been discussed in the *Great Instruction*. The third book is the *Lun-yü*, or *Miscellaneous Conversations* of Confucius, a book with strains of disappointing pettiness, yet full also of noble sententious sayings and high-toned morality as between man and man. The fourth of these sacred books consists of the more philosophical and courageous, if not audacious, conversations and aphorisms of Mencius—a disciple of the grandson of the Sage, who was the author of the *Chung Yung*, or more exactly, perhaps, a disciple of this teacher's pupil. We have noticed in an earlier chapter the character of the teaching of Mencius and how he supplements the teaching of Confucius whilst at the same time accepting and endorsing the great Sage's authority. These, then, are the books which were read and learned and studied and taught in the curriculum of Chinese education and

examination. The *Classic of Music*, arranged by Confucius and mentioned in ancient times as one of the six classics, is quite lost, and it throws an air of probability over the story of the recovery of the other books that no attempt has been made in this case to introduce a claimant or substitute for the lost book. The *Book of Filial Piety*, in twenty-two chapters, containing conversations between Confucius and Tsêng Ts'an, was found after the burning of the books concealed in the wall of the Sage's house, as well as the book *Êrh-ya*, or literary exposition of the terms used in the classics, composed by another of Confucius' disciples. These are both included within the sacred area, though not in the precise list of the classics of China, and were read in schools, but not included in the subjects for public examinations.

The system of competitive examinations and of placing office in civil rank and in the services within the reach of any student high or low, rich or poor, was introduced in comparatively recent times—A.D. 627. But education—and that not a State-paid or subsidised enterprise, though encouraged by the State, voluntary, and provided without local taxation in each town and considerable village, yet from custom and pride almost a compulsory institution—this is alluded to and narrated as a feature in China's civilised life in times stretching far behind the thirteen hundred years of the competitive examination system. This whole system of education and examination, and even the very literature which formed its life and food, seem, as we write, in

danger of extinction—not, we believe, without grave harm and loss to the country. But though it become a thing of the past it cannot pass from the interest and study of all students of history and civilisation, and we therefore give a brief account of this system of education, and with as pecial proposal in view, just possibly not too late for the consideration of the new and tentative boards of education in China. We shall find the power and influence of this ancient system so great and so beneficial, and at the same time its failures and deficiencies so obvious, that the double and yet not contradictory conclusion is forced upon us: first, that a method of education so effective, and literature which has been its source of power so good, cannot be dethroned and expelled as a drastic measure of reform without permanent injury; and, secondly, that sound reform lies in the conservation of the structure and, in most cases, of the method of education, whilst both the subjects and objects of education are widened and enlarged, and some of the methods in some grades themselves lifted out of stiff grooves of old custom into the living lines of more sympathetic touch between master and pupil. We take the definition given by Mencius of what man should set before him as the object of diligent and unremitting search, and which teachers and students must take as the office and function of education, namely, to seek for and draw out from ignorance and slumber the lost soul, the lost mind; or, to adopt the latest utterance of one of China's Westernised young men, who thinks in his new-born

pride of intelligence that education must be kept clear of religion: "Education," he says, "has as its one ideal and goal the acquisition of knowledge, the formation of character." We must note that among the ancient Chinese and through the whole system of education, character is placed before knowledge. "The filling the head with knowledge was not to be compared with the discipline of the heart and the purifying of the affections." "Better little and fine than much and coarse."

Now, watch a representative Chinese boy anywhere during the past thousand years, say, commencing his school life and educational career. The school, if it be in a market town or village, assembles in a room lent or hired in the village temple. There are also scattered about the country endowed charity schools, and these would be held on the premises owned by the trust. The scholarship and teaching powers of the masters vary much, but a man without average acquaintance with Chinese literature and composition would certainly not be hired by the village elders, nor long hold his position. As a rule, the village schoolmaster is honoured, well treated, and a man of considerable influence. The little boy, six or seven years old, is brought to school—day schools being the usual custom—by his father. Father, son, and master worship then before the picture or shrine of the god of Literature or of Confucius, and the boy alone then prostrates himself before his master, and knocks his small head on the floor in token of awe and reverence and promised obedience. He begins his study. The *Trimetrical Classic* forms his "horn-book,"

the foundation of his learning. The original of this book was composed six hundred years ago, by Wang Po-hou. It contains 1,068 words, arranged in 178 couplets, with three words in each line. The book treats of the nature of man and of the importance of educating that nature, and proceeds to a dissertation on filial and fraternal duties. It gives details also as to the powers of heaven and earth, the seasons, the compass, the elements, the virtues, the vegetable and animal kingdoms; the dynasties of the Empire also are given, and it concludes with examples of successful study and honourable service. This book is learned by rote. The master starts a sentence and the boys repeat after him, and each word is carefully enunciated, intonated, and explained. They are then sent back to their seats to repeat, not silently and to themselves, but in loud voice for all to hear, and perfect the repetition thus learned; and then, summoned to their master's immediate presence again, they "back" the lesson and receive praise or resounding blame.

The boys pass then from this *Trimetrical Classic* to the *Millenary Classic*, a book with a similar arrangement of subjects. This consists of a thousand distinct words—no two characters or word-signs being alike in form or meaning. This book was written A.D. 550. From this small text-book the boys pass straight to the great *Four Books* and *Five Classics*. But these books, though learned also and committed to memory by rote, must be read also, and from them the art of composition in prose and verse must be acquired; and here com-

menced the real drudgery, and yet, when mastered, the supreme charm and power of Chinese script and idiom and richness of expression and treasured thought. To our mind one of the most serious defects of Chinese education lay just here. The individual characters were learnt one by one, by sheer memory, as enunciated by the master, just as he enunciated the clauses and sentences of the horn-book; and the writing of these characters—there being no accessories of alphabet or syllables to guide the composition of the word, but only the number and right order of stroke, dot, dash or curve—was acquired also by mere habituation, the boys copying the slips doled out to them every afternoon either on tissue-paper placed over the copy slips or direct from the copy. But in neither case, of reading or of writing, was the true meaning of the characters or collection of characters thus learned, nor, indeed, the meaning of the classics they were committing to memory given by the master till too late, surely, in the course. Interest and enthusiasm and diligence in study, which depend in earlier students only on pride of place and fear of the master's rod, could be awakened much sooner if they knew what they were learning, and sympathy between master and pupil could thus be much earlier cemented.

We have called this system of education universal in China as regards boys and men; and this has been true so far that, in Professor Giles' words, "Every Chinese boy may be said to have his chance. The slightest sign of a capacity for book-learning is watched

for, even amongst the poorest"—unless we except here the vast fishing population, in such centres as Foochow or Canton, who live in whole families afloat; and the races in Chekiang and elsewhere, who for some political crime in old days were degraded and disfranchised and forbidden any literary career—a disability removed by an act of grace by the late Empress Dowager in 1905. The day school fees were very low—say two dollars, or about four shillings, a year on an average—and "besides the opportunity of free schools, a clever boy will soon find a patron; and in many cases the funds for carrying on a curriculum, and for entering the first of the great competitions (that for the degree of *Hsiu-ts'ai*) will be subscribed in the district, on which the candidate will confer a lasting honour by his success."

During the T'ang dynasty six degrees were conferred. There were latterly only four: *Hsiu-ts'ai* or "flowering talent," call it B.A.; *Chü-jên*, "promoted man," M.A.; *Chin-shih*, "entered scholar," Litt.D., really the highest of all, as *Han-lin*, the fourth so-called degree, was more an office and position of dignity in "the Forest of Pencils," the Imperial Academy in Pekin, though won, like the rest, by competitive examination. The writer knew a Chinese scholar, the son of a labourer in the fields, who, owning as his first *alma mater* a small primary Christian school in the country, climbed through the long series of study and examination by his own merit and without favour or patronage; the examinations being almost without exception above suspicion of dishonesty or bribery from examiners or candidates. It is the fact

that the rule has long been for every boy to go to school, for a time at any rate. But a comparatively small proportion stay longer than for one or two years, during which no kind of proficiency can be acquired, and they scarcely touch the skirts of the classics, but with the ability to write clumsily a bill or a brief letter, and to spell out with many slips the notice of the opening of a new shop, or a proclamation posted in public, a faint literary aroma clings to them through life which is lacking in those who have never been to school at all. Large numbers of lads continued their education a little longer, and then went as apprentices into trade, or worked as artisans, or went back to the fields, the most honourable work in Chinese estimation next to the scholar's, and above both artisan and merchant ; and they retained in their different functions a trace and touch and hint of their school life and training not without advantage to themselves and their neighbours. A very large number, again, passed through the whole educational curriculum, and failing time after time in the annual examinations for the first degree and the second examination for the second degree, which qualifies for office, they " became tutors in private families, schoolmasters, doctors, fortune-tellers, geomancers, or booksellers' hacks " (Giles, *Civilization of China*). The number of the well-educated in China, of those, namely, who are either graduates, or undergraduates fairly qualified for competition, it is hard to estimate. In some districts the percentage is very high, sixty or seventy per cent of those who have been to school at all ; in others—and this is a

more general estimate—not more than twenty per cent at the utmost, and elsewhere scarcely five per cent. Some approximate estimate may be found from the fact that during the latter years of this educational system there would come forward in each provincial capital to compete for the second degree about ten thousand graduates, or, say, two hundred thousand for the Empire; and as at each district city for the yearly examination for the first degree there would be an average of a million out of the whole population, it will be well within the bounds of accuracy to speak of a million and a quarter of the Chinese male population as educated scholars.

But the real educative and character-forming effect of this education was probably operative—and how very largely this has been the case, Chinese history and character demonstrate—during the earlier stages of their course, and not when the ambition of distinction and place and office rather than the love and dignity of learning inspired the scholar. And the influence of this education has in all probability, if not quite certainly, operated far more widely than the microcosm of each scholar's individual character is concerned. Even in remote villages, with perhaps one or two at the most with the pretension of being scholars, yet good manners are exhibited and imitated, and veneration for age and authority, filial piety, courtesy and welcome of strangers, integrity and morality, outwardly at least, are recognised and honoured. Professor Giles sums up the methods and effects of education and examination in

China thus—too cursorily and lightly, perhaps, but with some significant descriptive touches:

"A good deal of ridicule has been heaped of late" by, we presume he means, Chinese reformers inspired from the West, "on the Chinese competitive examinations, the subjects of which were drawn exclusively from the Confucian Canon, and included a knowledge of ancient history, of a comprehensive scheme of morality, . . . and an aptitude for essay-writing and the composition of verse. The whole curriculum may be fitly compared with such an education as was given to William Pitt and others among our own great statesmen, in which an ability to read the Greek and Roman classics, coupled with an intimate knowledge of the Peloponnesian War, carried the student about as far as it was deemed necessary for him to go. The Chinese course, too, has certainly brought to the front in its time a great many eminent men, who have held their own in diplomacy, if not in warfare, with the subtlest intellects of the West."

We believe that education in China during these two thousand years has gone deeper and higher and wider too than this. There must be something in the nature even of the formalities of the system and the structure of the language—the bilingual study, we may almost call it, which all scholars engage in—and the fascination of shape and variety and combination of their script, to have saved the nation from early and hopeless weariness, and to have turned drudgery into almost enthusiastic perseverance, and the formality and stiffness of the methods

* *The Civilization of China*, p. 112.

into elastic interest and devotion. All this is an educative process—the vision of form and its elegancies, the vision of ancient wisdom and reverence for yet higher wisdom, the vision of the unselfish transmission of that wisdom, the subordination even of the highest sages and heroes to the authority of age or experience, the vision of the ancient renown of their country, and a renown, too, largely moral and not of war and conquest.

This influence, touching perhaps imperceptibly even the duller scholars, must last and be operative through life. And then when they find, beyond the drudgery of the acquisition of reading and writing, the wider fields of harvest ripe for them, the fruit of the sowings of the ethics and philanthropy, and songs and records of ancient times, very much must be done to summon back, if not wholly to reclaim, the lost minds of men. The strength of the old system lay in the very points which seem so much out of place to modern Europe or America (where schooling seems to be education no longer), its drudgery, namely, and its narrow range. It was the drudgery that made character strong, and the limited but lofty range of subjects taught that sent scholars into the world with the mind not crammed and jaded with scraps of information, but nobly trained and ready for use. But without doubt it had its defects. The horizon fixed for knowledge and wisdom, too, is limited, the fountains of research and of truth are sealed up, and those only of local value and fulness are available. The *scientia scientiarum* itself, soaring above and yet embracing and guiding all science, the knowledge and love and worship and salvation of the

Most High, the foundation and topstone of all true education—these are not exhibited or inculcated save with even greater vagueness and more halting tones than the founders and authors of Chinese literature themselves had used. But the general effect on the morals and manners, the intelligence and integrity, of the Chinese has been so great (very far deeper and more lasting than is the influence for good of Rome's golden literature on Rome and Europe, and lifting the Chinese nation far above her neighbours in the fame of morality and order and good government), that we cannot regard the passing of this old order and the disappearance of her literature and educational system from China without something more than regret—something nearer to dismay. The system must doubtless be readjusted, its methods made more elastic. The world is too much in a hurry, and we cannot stop it now to submit to the deliberate, if more thorough, apparatus of old times. And its subjects must be carefully supplemented and expanded in history, geography, mathematics and science generally, and the great text-book of all, the Word of God, the Classic of time and eternity, must be introduced, if the system is to possess true spiritual and moral dynamics. But the old framework and its ancient drapery cannot, without grave loss, be dispensed with as a true auxiliary force in the education of the China that is to be.

CHAPTER VIII

Christianity in China

EARLY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES FROM THE WEST

In previous chapters we have studied the subject of indigenous religious thought in China, and the effect on such thought and on the whole course of social and political order and developement exercised by her chief leaders in philosophy and in ethics up to the Christian era and beyond. In this chapter we propose to review the advent and the influence of religious teaching and belief from the West. The coming and the long stay of Buddhism in the first century we have already sufficiently noticed, the departure of this Northern Buddhism from the original faith and order, apparently coinciding with its contact with Nestorian Christianity, its adaptation to the prejudices and genius of these new peoples, and its assimilation of local superstitions and beliefs, or its capture and appropriation of them. We need not, then, include in the present chapter that great movement from the West.

But we cannot dismiss it without relating what either history or legend tells us of the circumstances under which Buddhism reached China nearly nineteen hundred years ago. There is an ambiguous utterance

ascribed to Confucius in which he himself expects and encourages his disciples to expect some teacher or influence from the West. But what West—whether within the quarter of China's own compass or beyond—cannot be determined.

It is, however, a well-known fact of history that the trade relations and intercourse between China and the West, through Persia (as noticed above) and by other lines, were exceedingly active during the years shortly before the advent of the King of kings, and this commercial and friendly intercourse may have made the Chinese expectant and ready when messengers and envoys of religion began to arrive. It seems probable that Buddhist emissaries in the days of their earlier zeal, and stimulated by their comparative failure in the regions of the birth of their religion, had reached China by spasmodic effort, bringing a golden image with them, some little time before Christ's great coming. But their welcome and more permanent rooting in the land did not occur till about the year A.D. 70. The story of that welcome appears in two forms. The Emperor Ming Ti, of the Han dynasty, is said by the one legend to have been warned in a dream by the appearance of a golden image (suggested, if so, by the previous visit of Buddhist messengers) to send an embassy in search of teachers of this faith. The other story —far more pathetic as implying a state of expectancy amongst the people generally and not in the sovereign's mind alone—is to the effect that evening after evening for a month and more there appeared

about the setting of the sun, and after its setting, gorgeous and resplendent colours glorifying the sunset, as eighteen centuries and a half later the sunset skies of the world were glorified by the dust of the eruption of Krakatoa, caught up into the regions of the higher ether and shined on in the West.

This phenomenon seemed to both Emperor and people to be Heaven's hand of glory beckoning them to go westwards and enquire for some great treasure of wisdom or religion. An Imperial embassy was despatched westwards; and, instead of pressing on to the Ta-ch'in country, Judæa, with the news of the Gospel for all mankind freshly sounding and resounding, they stopped in India, captivated and awed by the placid and majestic ritual and objects of Buddhist worship there; and the Buddhists answered the call by sending an embassy, with priests and full ceremonial, to China.

The question naturally arises: Did Christianity in any form antedate or anticipate this Buddhist mission—this response to the cry, "Come over and help us," a cry as articulate in a sense as that of the man of Macedonia? And we are met at once by the assurance from authorities, which we describe below, to the effect that this seems really to have occurred, and that about the time of the Buddhist invasion of China St. Thomas himself, accompanied in his earlier evangelistic journeys by St. Bartholomew, was evangelising first, apparently, southern India, the Malabar coast and districts nearer still to Madras, and then China. If this or even part of this narrative be history, it suggests the gracious

way in which the Lord of the Church uses His "chosen vessels" in the founding of His Church. Here are two "honest" but strangely rugged "doubters." The doubts "except" this and that—the conditions of man's own imperfect judgement—are satisfied, "I will not believe," and the doubt "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" are changed into noble confessions—"My Lord, my God," "Thou art the Son of God, the King of Israel." And then the confessors, commissioned and sent further afield, beyond the bounds of the Roman world, than St. Paul even and St. Peter had reached, as witnesses and martyrs seal their testimony. The story of St. Thomas's Chinese ministry, however, is not found in authoritative Church history. Eusebius, writing in the fourth century, speaks definitely of St. Thomas as having Parthia assigned to him as his special evangelistic field. Parthia and Persia are mentioned elsewhere in early Church history as the scene of his martyrdom by a lance thrust. These countries, with the common name of Parthia, were conterminous with the boundaries of Indo-Scythia, and possibly by sea and not by a long overland progress down India, he may have reached the Coromandel coast and the Carnatic; and if impelled still further eastward, "they that go down to the sea in ships" could perhaps have taken him again by sea, instead of the trackless paths of Scythia extra Imaum to the southern Sinæ, the modern Cambodia and Tonkin, or to the Sinæ further north in Honan, and Serica stretching far into Mongolia. It is noteworthy that St. Thomas is commemorated in the

breviary of the very ancient Syrian Church of the Malabar coast as the apostolic founder of that Church, and as the apostle also of the Sinæ. It has been customary with modern students to lay aside that claim as apocryphal, and to ascribe the origin of the name "the Church of St. Thomas" to a merchant and missionary named Thomas labouring near the modern Madras in the fourth century. If we mistake not, the belief in the historicity of the persistent claim of the Syrian Church is rather gaining ground through recent inquiries; and if so, the Chinese part of St. Thomas's career, which seems to form part of this story, may also be rehabilitated. At present, so far as contemporary history leads us, the earliest mention of Christianity in China is from the writings of Arnobius (*circa* A.D. 300), who remarks that "the work done in India, among the Seres, the Persians and the Medes, may be counted and come in for the purpose of reckoning"; and if there be no doubt about the identity of the Seres this seems to show that Arnobius believed that missionary work had been done in China before the end of the third century. Cosmas (A.D. 535) says:

"In the Island of Taprobana (Ceylon, according to Arrowsmith) in inner India, where the Indian Ocean is, there is a Church of Christians, where clergy and believers are found. Whether (there are Christians) beyond that [*i.e.*, in Southern Sinæ] also I do not know."

Neither of these early witnesses contradicts the claim of St. Thomas as the proto-evangelist in India and in China; and, coming lower down the tide of time, we find

testimonies documentary and oral to that claim which can scarcely be set aside save by the charge of forgery, hard to substantiate, on the part of the Malabar Church itself, or by the Nestorians or Jesuits, who would have little private interest in such a fabrication. In the fourteenth century—

"Ebedjesus Sobensis (that is, of Nisibis, from which centre—the Missionary Training College of the Nestorians after their expulsion from Edessa—A-lo-pên, leader of the first Nestorian Mission, perhaps came) and Amrus son of Matthew, who call Thomas the Apostle of the Chinese, follow the general opinion of their day in referring the story of the conversion of the Chinese to the faith of Christ (which they took from the old records of their Church) to Thomas himself rather than to his disciples."*

In the seventeenth century Antonius de Gouvea records the tradition as follows: After preaching in Arabia Felix and Socotra (it is pathetic to notice how often this island at the entrance from the Red Sea and Aden into the Indian Ocean, and scarcely noticed now save as a desert and somewhat wild and inhospitable shore, and the sad scene of tragic shipwreck, is mentioned in early Christian story, and at one time as the see of a bishopric), St. Thomas came to Cranganor, where the King of Malabar lived; and when he had founded several churches there he moved to Coulan, a city of the same country. Thence he went to Coromandel and

* Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. III., pt. II., p. DXVIII.

lived at Meliapore; and thence he set out for China and preached the Gospel in the city of Camballe and built churches. From the old records of the diocese of Angamala it is clear that a bishop used to be sent to that coast with the title of Archbishop of the Indians, and that he had two suffragans, one in the island of Socotra, one in the country of Masina—this last name representing China. From China St. Thomas returned to Meliapore, where, having incurred the hatred of two Brahmans, he was put to death, being first stoned and then pierced with a spear. Camballe, which St. Thomas is said by this tradition to have visited, is doubtless Pekin; but though Pekin existed in the time of St. Thomas under the name of Chi, or Yen, it was not known then as Khanbalig (Camballe), and does not seem to have been the capital even of North China till the tenth century.

The most circumstantial asseveration of the truth of St. Thomas's work in India and China is found in the voluminous treatise *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*, written by Nicolaus Trigautius at Rome and published in the year 1615, and founded on Matteo Ricci's reports and narratives (A.D. 1583–1610). Trigault tells us first of the extreme difficulty which Ricci experienced for some time in finding traces of early Christianity in China, the very memory of which seemed ready to vanish away, and after relating the paucity of these traces, derived mainly from the testimony and information supplied by a Jew named Ai, the narrative proceeds, evidently in Ricci's own words:

"We are able to refer the origin of Christianity in these realms to a still earlier source, from what we have had extracted from the Syriac manuscripts of the Malabar coast. The fact that that coast was added to Christ by means of St. Thomas the Apostle is too plain to be called in question by even the most obstinate. In those manuscripts, then, we read very plainly that the faith was carried to the Sinæ by the same Apostle of Christ, and that several Churches were founded in that kingdom."

Ricci then informs us that a translation of these manuscripts was made from Syriac into Latin by Father Campori, by order of the Jesuit Archbishop Roitz—the Malabar Syrian Church being then under Jesuit control—from which we make the following extracts. In the Syriac breviary we read thus:

"Through Mar Thomas,* the error of idolatry vanished from the Indies. Through Mar Thomas the Sinæ and the Ethiopians were converted to the truth. Through Mar Thomas they have kept the faith of one God which they had received. Through Mar Thomas the kingdom of the heavens has flown and ascended to the Sinæ."

The date of the original from which these extracts were translated must be uncertain, since the Malabar services are not now extant in their unrevised form; but it is certainly implied that the extracts are taken from the old portions of the books, and one can scarcely bring himself to imagine any fundamental and particular forgery or contradiction introduced by revision into the original memorials.

* "Mar" is a Syrian title meaning "lord." *Cf.* Maranatha 1 *Cor.*, xvi. 22.

The story may not be history after all,* but its interest and sacred pathos are so deep that we have thought it only just to give the tale as carefully as possible. It looks like an archway, veiled perhaps in summer haze, leading into the long vista of a day of light and shade, of sunshine, dead calm, thunder-gust and tempest alternating—*the day of Christianity in China*—to close, we trust, soon and for ever, not in dark night, but with the dawn of the eternal day of the kingdom of God. And we may almost venture to join in the words of the Antiphon from the Syriac Malabar breviary and say, "The Indians, the Sinæ . . . offer adoration to Thy Holy Name in memory of Mar Thomas."

Before proceeding to a narrative most undeniably historical of the introduction of Christianity into China by the Nestorians, the Franciscans, the Jesuits, and by the Churches of the Reformation, and in order not to break the thread of the Christian story (broken too often by the slumber or neglect of the Church), we give first in brief detail a narrative of the early arrival in China of other religious emissaries either as commercial or political pioneers, or as teachers of new faiths. Neither is this narrative wholly out of connection with the history of Christianity in China; and the interacting influences and effects produced by these almost coincident arrivals (as also is the case with original and later Buddhism)

* That it may be of quite late origin is suggested by the fact that John de Monte Corvino, who was familiar with both Persia and India late in the thirteenth century (spending a year at the Church of St. Thomas), and would have known their traditions, wrote about China: "To these regions there never came any Apostle or disciple of the Apostles."

possess an interest, tantalizing, significant, perplexing, and well repaying closer study.

In the story of the assembling of the council of Nicæa related by Dean Stanley (*History of the Eastern Church*, p. 98), with graphic power and minute detail, we read that amongst the gathering crowd of bishops and delegates, and as the fourth in a band of representatives of four famous Churches, appeared in this famous year A.D. 325 "John the Persian, Metropolitan of India." In a footnote it is suggested that his name, thus emphatically stated, may be connected with the name, not the notorious person afterwards bearing the name, *Prester John*. This "invisible Apostle of Asia," priest, king of the Kerait or Krit Tartars, and dominating a great part of Eastern Tartary, north of the Chinese wall, and near the river Amur (the region which eventually felt the sway of the great Genghis Khan, and the power which dominated China for a while), was either an adventurous Nestorian priest who, by intrigue or by force, possessed himself of the throne, or he was the Ung Khan himself after his conversion, assuming in humility the title Prester as yet nobler than Khan. The first supposition rests on the testimony of William of Tripoli, Bishop of Gabat, in the early days of the twelfth century, and states that this bold crusading Nestorian priest took advantage of the death of Kenchen (*i.e.*, Gurkhan, of the Khitai Tartars), the king of those far Eastern regions, to seize by force the reins of power, and that Prester before he mounted the throne, Prester he continued to be called; and, moreover, that Prester

John was the hereditary title of that line, till brought to an end by the great Genghis Khan a century later. Meanwhile the fame of his fabulous wealth and power and dominion as a Christian king and priest, set aflame by his own vainglorious embassies and proclamations to the Roman Emperor Frederick I., to the Greek Emperor Manuel and to other potentates, dominated the Western mind from the twelfth century onwards. Pope after pope sent embassies and messengers to the elusive Prester—the Nestorians apparently fostering the illusion purposely. The other version of the story of Prester John is laid in the same region of the Kerait tribe, but in the year A.D. 900, or more than two centuries earlier. But here again the Nestorian element appears. The Tartar king, lost in the wilderness when out hunting, is guided by a saint (a Nestorian anchorite or hermit presumably) out of his perilous position, and, accepting the hermit's faith, is baptised by the Archbishop of Meru, Ebedjesus, by the name John, either after the hermit, or possibly after the Nestorian Patriarch John, to whom, in those early tenth century days, the report was sent. The converted and baptised king took the title of Prester John, and his 200,000 subjects entered the faith at the same time. (I. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.) In the fifteenth century, whether jealous of this Nestorian triumph or from genuine curiosity, John II, King of Portugal, directed Peter Corillanus to make inquiries respecting the kingdom of Prester John; and he professed to have found in Abyssinia, in the person and surroundings of royalty there, what corresponded

with the Prester, who was reported to have lived and flourished in further Asia. Once again the invisible Prester John has been identified with the Dalai Lama of Tibet, which draws the story near China again ; and it is significant that it was in the beginning of the twelfth century that the regal and priestly power were joined in the person of the Grand Lama. One thing is certain, namely, that when the regions connected with these narratives, legendary or historic, of Prester John were eventually reached and explored, it was found that from the twelfth century numbers of Nestorian Christians had lived there as an established Church, and apparently having no direct connection with the great Mission under the Nestorian A-lo-pên in the seventh century, which claims our special attention. Dean Stanley's footnote, quoted above, seems to suggest the possibility of a far earlier Mission to the Farthest-East and the Seres, by the Chaldean Church, tracing their descent as they did from the earliest of all Eastern Christian Missions, that of Thaddæus to Abgarus—Edessa being the cradle of all ecclesiastical history also, as the birthplace of Abraham. That Church was in its earlier days an active, energetic, Missionary Church, and their more primitive Prester John may have prepared the ground for the harvests of successive Presters.

It must be noted that the Christianity of Prester John (that is, of Ung Khan, the Kerait chief) is not hinted at by Chinese writers ; but the body (or image) of his niece, who was the mother of Mangu or Hsien Tsung (third in succession to Genghis Khan) 1251, and of Kublai (who

succeeded his brother Mangu in 1259, and was actually seated on the throne of all China A.D. 1280), is recorded to have been laid in the *Cross Monastery* in Kansu.

Mongol Christianity is further connected with Nestorian influences through King George, a Tartar chieftain under the great Khan, to whom both Marco Polo and John de Monte Corvino make frequent allusion. He was originally a Nestorian Christian, and was converted to the Catholic faith by Monte Corvino himself. King George's father and uncle are mentioned as saying, "We take much trouble to procure monks and bishops from the West," in the story of Mar Jabalaha III. (A.D. 1245—1317), another remarkable character of that period.

Mark and Bar Sauma were Nestorian monks—Uigurs born in Shansi and Pekin respectively. They travelled to the West in 1275, and Mark was consecrated Metropolitan of Cathay and Wang (Ongut), and Bar Sauma was appointed Visitor. They remained in the West; and in 1281 Mark was appointed Patriarch of the Nestorian Church, with the title Jabalaha III., a post which he held through days of prosperity and persecution till his death in 1317. Bar Sauma was sent by Arghun Khan of Persia to Europe to incite the Pope to a new Crusade. Nestorian as he was, he was allowed to celebrate Mass at Rome, and received the Communion from the Pope. He saw Edward I. in Gascony, and Edward received the Communion from him. So strangely was there giving and taking and interchange of influence between the West and the Farthest-East in those half-known mediæval days.

The earlier history of Islam, and its entrance into China, has a yet more mysterious and perplexing connection with Nestorian Christianity. It is supposed that the rise of Mohammed's power in Mecca was considerably aided by a circle of earnest people there, the slave Zeyd amongst them, who were predisposed to accept a purer faith than the gross paganism of Arabia, and that probably through intercourse with Eastern churches, from Abyssinia or Syria. Mohammed himself, during one of his earlier journeys with his uncle Abu Taleb, met with and conversed with a mysterious character, a Syrian or Nestorian monk, the reputed abbot of the monastery of Bostra or Basra (Berydhus of Bostra is said to have been converted by Origen A.D. 232), who prophesied to his uncle the coming greatness of the youthful Prophet, and became one of Mohammed's companions and first and favourite friend. Probably from him Mohammed was instructed not in the genuine canonical Gospels, which he seems scarcely even to have seen, but in the apocryphal tales of the Gospel of the Infancy, of Nicodemus, or of Joseph. The Collyridians also, deifying the Mother of Jesus—an early anticipation of the official Mariolatry of the eleventh century—and worshipping her as a member of the Holy Three, suggested to Mohammed the tritheism, as he supposed, of the Christian faith, and did more than anything to turn him into a denouncer and an antagonist. And yet, strange irony of the fate of error, to the Koran in the first instance is the fable of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin to be traced.

The story of the introduction of Islam into China by

Mohammed's uncle, Saad Wakkas, supposed to be buried at Canton, early in the seventh century (Mohammed died June 8, A.D. 632), is not of ancient authority; there is no trace of such an event in the inscription at Hsi-an dated A.D. 742, though this itself is also not certainly genuine, and it first appears in the Geography called *Ta Ming i t'ung chih*, A.D. 1461, and later, in an inscription of the latter seventeenth century at Hangchow, whereas an inscription in the same city of 1452 has no suspicion of such an important event. It is significant, however, that in the *Mo chuang man lu* of the twelfth century, the religionists there called the Hsien-shên are said to have come to China with the Nestorians and Mohammedans. Now, laying aside for the time the possibilities which we have referred to above of an earlier arrival, the Nestorian Mission under A-lo-pên did most certainly arrive at Ch'ang-an, or Hsi-an, then the capital of China, in the year A.D. 635, or three years after Mohammed's death; and the arrival of Islam at about that date seems quite probable from the above quotation. Thus much is certain, that Mohammedanism in China, in its most powerful days, has not been pre-eminently anti-Christian; and, moreover, it is said that the school of Islam, specially dominant in China, expressly affirms its belief and expectation, not of a return of the Prophet, but of the return in glory of the greater Prophet after all, Jesus Christ. Though the actual date and circumstances of the introduction of Islam into China cannot be traced with certainty further back than the thirteenth century, yet the existence of settlements of foreign Moslems with

their Mosques at Ganfu (Canton) during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—907) is certain, and later they spread to Ch'üan-chou and to Kan-p'u, Hangchow, and perhaps to Ningpo and Shanghai. These were not preaching or proselytising inroads, but commercial enterprises, and in the latter half of the eighth century there were Moslem troops in Shensi, 3,000 men, under Abu Giafar, coming to support the dethroned Emperor in A.D. 756. In the thirteenth century the influence of individual Moslems was immense, especially that of the Seyyid Edjell Shams ed-Din Omar, who served the Mongol Khans till his death in Yünnan A.D. 1279. His family still exists in Yünnan, and has taken a prominent part in Moslem affairs in China.

The present Moslem element in China is most numerous in Yünnan and Kansu; and the most learned Moslems reside chiefly in Ssŭch'uan, the majority of their books being printed in the capital city, Ch'êng-tu. Kansu is perhaps the most dominantly Mohammedan province in China, and here many different sects are found, and mosques with minarets used by the orthodox muezzin calling to prayer, and in one place veiled women are met with. These, however, are not Turks or Saracens, but for the most part pure Chinese. The total Moslem population is probably under 4,000,000, though other statistical estimates, always uncertain in China, vary from thirty to ten millions; but the figures given here are the most reliable at present obtainable, and when it is remembered that Islam in China has not been to any great extent a preaching or propagandist power by

force or the sword, it is difficult to understand the survival and existence of such a large number as that, small, indeed, compared with former estimates, but surely a very large and vigorous element. It seems almost as though the masterful genius for war and conquest had been drunk in by these Chinese Moslem millions with the teaching which they had accepted; for the three great Mohammedan rebellions which marked the middle and the closing years of the nineteenth century, breaking out in Yünnan, Kansu, and Shensi, during two of which the writer was in China, seem to have had no special provocative cause, and no special objective, except the awful joy of fighting. These uprisings required all the force and strategy of Chinese military leaders successfully to overthrow and suppress their power—the great Moslem leader in the earlier Shensi and Kansu rebellion being opposed with Fabian tactics by the greater leader, Tso Cunctator. The apprehension of the advancing rebels hung for many months over even central China, and photographs of the coming Moslem Emperor were distributed in vast numbers secretly as far south as Hangchow. Previous to the early days of the Manchu dynasty there seems to have been no friction between the Mohammedan Chinese and the Imperial Chinese rule, and both Jewish and Moslem inscriptions state, in a judicious spirit of friendly compromise, that their doctrines were identical with those of Confucius and his great school. So that the conflict, and these rebellions as the climax, were not religious wars so much as the old conquering spirit

(provoked by petty quarrels or accidents) awake again. We seem to trace the same spirit of compromise, possibly to the verge of the surrender or suppression of vital truths, in their contact, and that without apparent antagonism and protest, with the other Western invaders of China—Jews, Manicheans, Parsis, and Buddhists—who claim a brief additional notice further on.

What led the Jews to enter China, and to bring with them not their commercial and business instinct alone, but their religion also, and that not for purposes of propagandism again, but for self-preservation and sacred memory, we have no historical data to guide us. Our apparently sole informant resides in the inscriptions on large stones in the city of K'ai-fêng, the capital of Honan—one built into the wall of an adjoining house, another on its pedestal in the open—and bearing three dates, June, A.D. 1489, August 3, 1512, and June, 1663. The earliest dated inscription gives the latest date for the arrival of a party of seventeen families of Jews in China in the Sung dynasty (probably 960–1127), who were invited by the Emperor to settle in Pien-liang or K'ai-fêng, at that time the capital of China. The next inscription says that they reached China in the Han dynasty, and just possibly in the first century of our era—probably, if so, after the fall of Jerusalem—and about the time of St. Thomas's reputed mission, and the early Buddhist missions. The latest dated inscription pushes back the Jewish arrival further still, to the days of the Chou dynasty, *i.e.*, before 250 B.C. Just possibly Isaiah's words, " these from the land of Sinim,"

may point among other included interpretations to Jewish colonists in China about the middle of the Chou dynasty. Marco Polo speaks of the Jews in A.D. 1286 as sufficiently numerous to exercise political influence.

Ricci, when making inquiries about a possible Christian element surviving in China, came into communication with a Jew named Ai, from K'ai-fêng itself; from whom he learned that there were ten or twelve families of Jews, with a fine synagogue, still living in that city, and that in Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang, they were more numerous, with a synagogue of their own; but that in other places whither they had spread they were dying out, being without a synagogue and without the Law (*i.e.* the Pentateuch) which they had long cherished at K'ai-fêng. The K'ai-fêng synagogue had been repaired in A.D. 1279, 1421, 1445, 1461, *c.* 1480, 1512, and rebuilt just after the middle of the seventeenth century. During the devastation of the city by the bursting of the Yellow River in 1642 the synagogue was destroyed, and the copies of the Law precariously rescued by piecing together fragments from the flood. Two old copies of the Law had been received in the fifteenth century from Ningpo, showing the existence of a large Jewish colony there. Jews are mentioned also as living in Yang-chou in Kiangsu, and in Ning-hsia in Kansu, in Ganfu or Canton (ninth century), at Khanbalig (Pekin) by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and at Zaitun in Fukien, and finally at Khansa, Kinsay or Hangchow. Scarcely any traces of these colonies now remain. Bishop White, of Honan, writing in 1912 of

a visit to K'ai-fêng, speaks of the "few tens of Jews to be found there now, as some Christian inquirers, some Mohammedans, the rest heathen." From this same Jew, Ai, Ricci gathered further information of a melancholy and pathetic nature as to the survival of Christianity, though in a moribund state, and apparently of the friendly relations in the past between the Christians and the Jews. This Israelite at first professed ignorance on the subject, but when the cross, represented in the Chinese figure of ten, was mentioned, he at once informed Ricci that in K'ai-fêng, and in Lin-ch'ing in the province of Shantung, and in Shansi also, there were foreigners living whose ancestors had come from the West, who worshipped the cross, and used the sign of it when they ate or drank, and also made the sign in ink on infants' foreheads as a charm. The Jew further stated—and here we meet with a possible hint of this want of antagonism between the Christians, the Mohammedans, and the Jews, and, as we notice below, the Buddhists also (whether it were a mark of Christian charity or a symptom of Christian laxity we do not presume to declare)—that worshippers of the cross took part of the doctrine which they used to recite from the Jewish books, and thus it was common to them both.

He declared that they, the Christians, had been very numerous, especially in the northern provinces, but that their great prosperity, both in civil and military careers, excited suspicion of Christian revolutionary intrigues in the minds of the Chinese, fostered, this Jew suggested, by the Saracens, or Mohammedans, and the Christians in

terror fled in all directions, and those who could not escape capture abjured the faith, declaring themselves to be Moslems, Jews, or idolaters. Ricci, sending a brother to visit K'ai-fêng, found it even so; not one of those known to have been Christian would confess the faith. It is more probable that the success of a Portuguese Dominican missionary in preaching, coupled with the violence of some foreign traders on the coast at this time, rather than Saracen enmity and intrigue, accounted for this sudden persecution and apparent suppression of Christianity. Christians, Jews, and Saracens were for the time called by the same name—*Hui-hui*: a further, though not very conclusive, evidence of a certain friendly intercourse and relationship between the three.*

It is worth recording here that while we write (February 7, 1913) news has arrived of the purchase by the Canadian Anglican Mission in Honan of the ancient site of the Jewish synagogue at K'ai-fêng fu, with the memorial stones which bear witness to the fact that the synagogue was erected there in A.D. 1163.

The influence of Nestorian Christianity on the teaching of Buddhism in China, to which allusion has already been made, may be regarded as a matter of extreme probability, if not as a fact of history, however difficult it is to trace its precise points of contact. But it is

* *Fo-chiao* is the Chinese name of Buddhism; *Hui-hui* of the Moslems; *Ching-chiao* of Nestorian Christianity; *Mo-ni* of the Manicheans; *Mu-hu-hsien* of the Parsees, *i.e.*, worshippers of Hsien-shên. *Chu-hu* are the Jews; *Tieh-hsieh* or *Yeh-li-k'o-wên*, Christians in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

evident that the earlier orthodox Buddhist cult, introduced by invitation in the first century, did not make any marked advance till the Amidabha cult had almost overshadowed the old faith, and that cult of Amidabha in its later miraculous environment and furniture was largely coloured by what the Buddhists possibly learned and appropriated from the Nestorians, just at that time entering China. Some intercourse between the two is attested not obscurely by the fact that a Nestorian priest, Ching-ching, the author of the great Christian inscription, had helped an Indian missionary to translate in the eighth century a Buddhist sutra into Chinese. Whether this was a mere interchange of courtesy—the Buddhist copying and appropriating Christian sutras and the Christian patronising a Buddhist sutra—or whether it denoted a symptom of compromise on the Christian side, we cannot tell. The activity and vigour of the monk Ching-ching in the eighth century, testified to by three separate authorities, and the historical arrival of the Syrian Mission in the seventh century, with three or four separate records of this event, are beyond all praise, and in a measure atone for the backwardness of missionary zeal which the great Eastern Church has shown in later centuries and almost to the present time.

Yet we cannot but be arrested by the fact that symptoms of the imperfection, if not downright error, of this ancient Christian teaching appear very early. How comes it that on the great Nestorian tablet, the work of Ching-ching, while a cross appears above, the meaning and efficacy of the cross through the sacrifice of

atonement offered there by the Son of God, the great and dominant article of the faith, are not mentioned, save by a vague reference to salvation and blessing stretching to the four points of the compass? Was it so suppressed from the perversion of this doctrine which Nestorius hardly taught himself, but which his followers too soon adopted from the intricacies of his views, namely, that the Saviour of the world, the Person Divine-Human in one, was not the Son of God in suffering and dying and atoning, but the Man Christ Jesus, separate as such, mysteriously though not personally united? Or was it that, lest this perversion should be challenged or doubted, the declaration of faith and doctrine was silent just where silence was criminal? Neither does the name of Jesus occur in the two thousand words of the great tablet, or in the nearly seven hundred words of a paper roll written by a Chinese Christian eleven centuries ago, and recently discovered by Professor Paul Pelliot in a sealed-up cave near Tun-huang, in the province of Kansu. The religion is named on this paper roll, as on the tablet, "The Illustrious Religion," identifying it with the Nestorian faith; the Holy Trinity is mentioned and adored, but the Divine Name above every name is suppressed or forgotten.

The coming of the Manicheans to China, professing the wild creed which in North Africa held Augustine in its toils for nine years—the attempt it would seem to reconcile an adapted and emasculated and perverted Christianity with the old doctrines of Zoroaster, a religion owing probably a good deal to the influence of

Indian Buddhism, and with dualistic teaching not unlike the Chinese dual influences in the order of the world, the *Yang* and the *Yin*—occurred apparently as early as A.D. 584; and that of the Parsees, with a simpler worship of fire, and especially of the sun, at least as early as A.D. 621. The latter had a temple at Chinkiang until the thirteenth century. They did not, however, introduce the worship of fire and of the sun into China, for such a cult is much older than the date of their arrival. It is an impressive sight to watch the Parsees of the present day in China (recent immigrants of the Parsee race and not Chinese converts), men as they are of high reputation for intelligence and integrity in the commercial world, solemnly walking along the sea shore till they reach a quiet spot facing the setting sun, and then bowing low in worship. The sun occupies also a high place in the Chinese Taoist Pantheon; whilst the people, when using the word *shên* for "god," identify this often in their minds with the god of fire.

It is difficult to surmise what led the Manicheans and the Parsees so early to China, unless in the case of the Manicheans it was the stress of persecution in Persia to which they were exposed in the third and fourth centuries, and the pressure also of restrictive edicts of Christian emperors. They do not seem to have come as propagandist missionaries, and though Manichean thought and teaching have affected Japanese Buddhistic philosophy not a little, and that too derived from China, their influence and the presence of professors of the

creed are hardly, if at all, perceptible in China to-day. A temple with the name "The temple of the Great Cloud's Bright Light" (probably of Manichean origin) is to be found in some places, and two important Manichean manuscripts, doctrinal but not with any historical notes, were found in the sealed-up cave at Tun-huang in Kansu recently; but as missionary agencies, and as influencing with any power Chinese religious thought, they cannot be seriously considered.

The high honour of being the first emissaries of the unique Christian Gospel to China, however many their errors and deficiencies and mistakes may have been, rests with the Nestorians; and with their mission historical Christianity begins in China.

The after stages in the history of Nestorian missions to China we must only summarise. After the arrival of A-lo-pên at Hsi-an, in A.D. 635, a Syrian monastery to house twenty-one monks was granted in this city, otherwise called Ch'ang-an. It seems probable from this that A-lo-pên came not alone, as seems implied on the great Nestorian tablet described below, but with companions. The Nestorians seem to have declined in the ninth century, after the decree of the Emperor Wu Tsung, in the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 845), suppressing Buddhist and other foreign religious houses. Buddhism has not often been thus persecuted in China; but in A.D. 1221, during the unsettled days of the Southern Sung dynasty, a similar decree was issued, and the great pagoda at Ningpo was levelled to the ground and houses were built on its site. The Nestorian tablet was

discovered accidentally in the year 1625, during the digging of trenches for the foundations of a building near Chou-chih. The story related by an "old inhabitant" to Etienne Faber was to the effect that it was notorious that for several winters snow would not lie on a certain spot of ground, the very spot where the stone was found. It was buried several feet below the surface, either purposely hidden or overthrown after the decree of A.D. 845 ordering the destruction of vast numbers of Buddhist monasteries and the secularisation of more than 400,000 Buddhist monks and nuns, and the same secularisation for 2,000 or 3,000 Syrians (Nestorian Christians) and "Mu-hu-hsien" (Parsees). The great slab, 9 feet 1 inch high, about 1 foot in thickness, and 3 feet wide, lying thus prostrate on its face for nearly a thousand years, may well have sunk down deep into the earth by natural causes. The monument was removed with care and honour by the magistrate of Chou-chih, and was set up in a temple about five *li* outside the west gate of Hsi-an (the capital of China during the T'ang dynasty). By a strange coincidence this temple stands quite near the site of the first Christian church, which was built A.D. 638, or 143 years before the monument was erected. The stone stayed in this temple till October 2, 1907, when it was moved inside the city walls and placed in the Pei-lin, a collection of ancient inscriptions. It was seen by Dr. Williamson—a great traveller and explorer about forty years ago—in a state of comparative neglect, and through his representations to the

authorities it was protected by, we believe, a special fence placed round it.

It may be noted here, with reference to the translation of Scripture by the Nestorians, that though the translations were not printed (that art not coming into full use till A.D. 952), yet both the tablet and the roll, the special authorities which guide us here, are careful to record that books (including no doubt the Bible) were brought, and some of them at least translated. The fact of some such translation is specially mentioned on the tablet.

This tablet, commemorative of the advent of the Nestorians, was erected probably at the district town of Chou-chih, thirty or forty miles from Hsi-an, in the year A.D. 781; and Nestorian monasteries existed also at Ch'êng-tu, and in Kansu, and possibly in Honan. The inscription on this supremely interesting memorial, a long prose narrative followed by a summary in verse, is too long to translate here, but we add a brief sketch of its import.

The title proposes to describe the diffusion through China of the illustrious religion of Ta-ch'in. The first division of the two thousand words, containing 400 or 500 words, describes in redundant and fanciful mixture of enigma and history, the existence and power of the eternal Cause of causes, the mysterious Trinity, the true eternal Lord Elohim. The creation of all things, and of man, is described, the conflict or interaction of the dual system, the temptation and fall of man, the coming in of false doctrines innumerable; the setting apart

of the adorable Messiah, his virgin birth in Syria, the guiding star, the Persian magi; His fulfilment of the ancient law of the twenty-four holy ones (*i.e.*, the Old Testament), His doctrine of life, destroying death; His launching of the boat of mercy, His ascent, the God-Man, into heaven; His legacy of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament; the institution of baptism by water and the Spirit; the Cross as the method of uniting all people; the way of life and glory by worshipping towards the East; the lives and ceremonies of the preachers. Truth is here, cut in stone 1,100 years ago, truth, but with fatal and disastrous and inexplicable omissions of vital truth—the death and rising, the atonement offered and accepted by this great Messiah, the one means of salvation. And with this ominous omission—the cross again and again specified, but not the Crucified Lord of Glory—the supreme interest of the monument fades, and the long and elaborate sequel commemorating the welcome accorded to A-lo-pên and his message by the Emperor T'ai Tsung (627–649); the translation of the Scriptures in the Palace library (a significant fact indeed); his patronage and promulgation of the faith; the intrigues of Buddhists (A.D. 698–700) and of Confucian scholars; the praise of successive Emperors for their interest and succour; the erection of the monument affirming the truth of this Gospel, and lauding Kao Tsung and his fellows for their faith and works, ending then with an outburst of praise to the Three in One—all this cannot restore confidence, or create anything but disappointment in this mission and

its sequel, so nobly conceived, so energetically yet imperfectly promulgated, so sadly failing; but not, we believe, without salvation brought to multitudes of souls, taught that truth in secret, or gathering it from the translated Word, which Ching-ching would judiciously suppress in public.

There are no apparent traces of Christians in China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—that is, from the close of the great T'ang dynasty to the close of the Sung. But in the thirteenth century Nestorian monks, under a Mongol term, possibly the equivalent of *archon*, and Christian tribes such as Prester John's Keraits, and King George's Onguts, and the Alans are prominent. Monasteries are known to have existed in widely separated places—in Kan-chou, for example, and Ta-t'ung, in Chinkiang, and Hangchow, in Pekin also, in Yang-chou, in Yünnan, and in Wên-chou in southern Chekiang; but native authors do not mention Christian converts, save once, and that with contempt. In 1289, under Kublai Khan, a board was established for the control of the Christian clergy, and there were reported to be at that time seventy-two quasi-dioceses in the vast empire.

But with the close of the Mongol dynasty (A.D. 1368) Nestorians disappear from Chinese history. Sargis (a Christian name) appears as governor of Hangchow in 1364, and such Christian names as Denha and Solomon (?) occur in the last scenes of the dynasty at Pekin.

The mission of the Franciscans, the Minor Friars, under John de Monte Corvino, full of zeal and devotion

and energy, faithful but all too brief, lasting indeed less than a hundred years (A.D. 1289–1370), which next claims our attention, was contemporary with the last days of the Nestorian Missions. The account given by William of Rubruquis of the Nestorian monks—ignorant, polygamists, and the boys ordained in infancy—perhaps coloured by prejudice against these semi-heretical Christians, is yet dismal and saddening. The description certainly was not true of the two eminent men named above, Mark and Bar Sauma, but it points to the decline and approaching erasure from history of that once vigorous and enterprising mission. We lose sight of the mission, but we cannot believe that the Christians vanished also, and left no trace behind them. It seems as likely that the degenerate and timid and renegade Christians, whom Ricci two centuries later discovered, were Nestorian adherents as that they were Franciscan converts. But there seems an ominous silence and a dark chasm of unbelief and apparent Christian failure during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Western and Central Asia and perhaps parts of Mongolia and North China, were full of Christians, Nestorian, Jacobite, Greek, Catholic, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; but in China proper they were not at any time common during that period except in some few centres enumerated above, and the story of Christianity in China, though more continuous than was at one time believed, yet shows blanks, broad and echoing with reproach and sadness, which the Church may well take to heart with penitence and fresh resolve.

"In the year A.D. 1289, Brother John de Monte Corvino was sent by Nicholas IV. as Nuncio, and it seems with full powers, to the lands of the East" (*Annales Minorum*, VI., p. 69). This was the beginning of the promising but short-lived Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, generally known as the Franciscan Mission. John was born at Monte Corvino in the year 1247, and seems to have given his whole life to missionary work; the date of his first journey is, however, uncertain. But before this commission from Pope Nicholas, he, with several companions, had travelled over all the countries of the East, to which he had been sent by the Minister General of the Franciscan Order. They had brought home with them the glad tidings of great multitudes of the heathen coming over to the unity of the faith; of the nations thirsting for the word of God, and of the Princes, so far from being offended or hindering their work, welcoming it and desiring that the faith of Christ might be spread far and wide. Are not the fields white to the harvest? they said. The Pope, overjoyed at the news, sent them back with scarcely any respite to the fields where they had been so much blessed, and conferred on them necessary privileges, with letters to Kublai (Emperor or Khan of China, August 11, 1259—February 18, 1294), and to Arghun, his great-nephew (Khan of Persia, August 15, 1284—March 12, 1291), neither of whom were really Christians, though favourable to the Mission. To Kaidu, also, Kublai's first cousin once removed and life-long rival, letters were sent.

Kaidu ruled in Turkestan, dying in 1301. The "Missioner" was directed first to Kublai—apparently at Arghun's friendly suggestion—and reached Khanbalig (Pekin) most probably in 1294 to find Kublai dead and his successor absent in the north. John was joined, after nine or ten years of solitary labour, by Arnold, a German brother of the Province of Cologne. When Clement heard of his noble and successful work, he created him Archbishop of Khanbalig in 1307, and he sent out seven suffragan Bishops of the same Order to help him, with the prayer that he might bring back the peoples of the East, whether infidels, schismatics, or erring Christians, to the true Christian faith, and that the light of faith which Jesus Christ had kindled in the realms of the Tartars, might never be put out. Possibly the Pope referred thus not obscurely to the Nestorians as erring Christians, and it is noteworthy that John took letters to the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Jabalaha III., as well as to the Khans. These seven Bishops had a chequered history, one of the seven turning back soon after they had started, and three dying in India on their way to China. But more Bishops were sent out, and with the same commission—"to help in the work committed to the said Brother John." In April, 1318, Odoric (only second to Marco Polo in toil and enterprise of far-extended travel of that age) left Padua and wandered through Eastern lands for twelve consecutive years, returning to Europe in 1330 unrecognisable from the hardships and exposure of his Mission. He preached the Gospel everywhere, and is said to have baptised more than 20,000

pagans, Saracens, and other infidels. He is known to have visited India and China, and to have spent, as he himself relates, some considerable time at Pekin, where he speaks of " one of our Brothers " in a way that makes it almost certain that he means John de Monte Corvino.

Odoric died January 14, 1331, while making plans to return to the East. Had he gone he would have found the faithful and long-serving John at rest, dying as he did at his post at Khanbalig in 1328 or 1329, after thirty-five years devoted unceasingly to the conversion of the heathen and the instruction of the Christians. One of the noblest and most fruitful of his labours was the early translation of the New Testament and of the Psalms into " the Tartar language," as he himself tells us, and his preaching openly and freely " the testimony of the law of Christ." This great leader was succeeded after very long delay in travel by Nicholas, accompanied by twenty priests and six lay brothers, and only reaching Almalig, the court of the Chagatai line of Khans, in 1338.

Early in that same year of Nicholas' arrival, an embassy from the Emperor Shun Ti, the last of the Mongol dynasty, and from the Christian Alan chiefs, reached Avignon with letters for the Pope. They left again for the Far East in July with letters in reply and the promise that legates and more letters should follow. These legates did actually leave in December, 1338, and caught up the Tartar envoys, who were loitering in Italy, and after many delays in their long and adventurous journey, they reached Almalig in September, 1341, and Khanbalig

not till August, 1342. There they stayed and worked presumably for three or four years, and then went to Zaitun in south China, and leaving Zaitun in 1347, they visited Malabar and the Coromandel coast to see the shrine of St. Thomas, and reached Avignon finally in 1353. Such a leisurely sight-seeing expedition accords ill with what were really the expiring times of the great Mission they had been sent to visit and assist, though indeed it was more an official embassy than a mission; and one would rather express profound astonishment at the sublime courage and devotion which led these early missionaries to travel at all, when facilities of travel did not exist compared with our modern luxuries—astonishment also at the prompt and eager and almost multitudinous responses to call after call which reached Christendom, to "come over and help us."

The Mission disappears after the murder of James, the last Bishop of Zaitun, in 1362. That Bishopric was founded A.D. 1313 or earlier, Andrew of Perugia being the best-known holder of the see. A final Mission, with the Mongols gone and the Ming on the throne, was sent by Urban V., consisting of an Archbishop for Khanbalig, 1370, and a legate with twelve companions, of whom nothing was afterward heard. And so we pass on through a desolate silence of two hundred years, till the arrival of the Jesuit Mission at first under Valignani in 1574 at Macao, and then moving northwards under Matteo Ricci and his illustrious companions.

The great venture in the Jesuit "Christian expedition to China" was made by Francis Xavier, who in 1552

started from Goa with an ambassador to China. But the ambassador Pereyra, with his ship, was detained from suspicion and jealousy by the governor of Malacca, and Xavier went on alone. He was foiled in his yearning desire to land on Chinese soil and preach Christ in the Chinese tongue; and his untiring life of restless activity and enterprise and zeal in India and in Japan, with imperfection in doctrine, in teaching, in method, but with perfection of devotion and love, closed, his heart broken, it is said, by disappointment and the intrigues of his countrymen round him. His dying eyes looked out on the hills of China visible from the island of Shang-ch'uan, which he had reached, and though the words ascribed to him may have been actually uttered later by Valignani, yet those words and that longing, not unmixed with hope in the coming triumph of the Cross, were surely in his heart: "Oh, rock, rock, when wilt thou open to thy Lord?"

The Portuguese took Macao in 1560, and Alexander Valignani, who had had Matteo Ricci as one of his pupils at Rome, sailed for the Indies in 1574 as Visitor of the Far Eastern Missions. On his way to Japan, where most of his missionary life was spent, stopping at Macao, he decided to make that island the base of the long-projected "Christian expedition to China;" and thither Michael Ruggieri (1579), Pasio and Ricci (1582), proceeded on their appointment to China. Finding missionary operations hampered in Macao, and with no proper facilities for learning Chinese there, Ruggieri, who must have been possessed of indomitable zeal,

XIV.—XAVIER AND RICCI

[*To face p.* 336.

obtained leave to reside on Chinese ground at Canton, with the Portuguese ships lying in the river, on sufferance apparently, or perhaps offering his services as interpreter for a time, an experience of precarious residence much like Robert Morrison's in the same region 230 years later. In 1582 Ruggieri was sent by Bishop Leonard de Saa, possibly by the authority and advice of Valignani again, to Chao-ch'ing to call on the Viceroy, who received him graciously and invited him to return and reside in that city. He did so, and with the newly-arrived Pasio, took up his residence in a Buddhist temple at Chao-ch'ing, and the date of their arrival, December 18, 1582, may be regarded in a sense as the birthday of more modern Christian missions to China. After a short absence in Macao, whither they had been sent through the unfriendliness of the officials during the interregnum between the departure of their old friend and the arrival of a new Viceroy, Ruggieri returned, Ricci now accompanying him, and finally settled in Chao-ch'ing. Either from over-confidence in their security and the favour of the Viceroy, or from "measuring too many things with a European rule," to quote the narrator's own words, or from a mistaken idea that European superiority in architecture, as well as in mathematical and astronomical science, was an evidence of the superiority of the Christian faith, Ruggieri built a house in European style instead of the quarters and surroundings of their former residence in a Buddhist temple. It is hard to understand the logic of the many apparent inconsistencies in the methods tried in those early days. There was the adoption by

Ricci of the dress of a Buddhist bonze ; and then, obeying the remonstrances of Valignani, in 1594 he put this off for the dress and manner of a Confucian scholar and teacher. Disguise, also, was frequently adopted by him and his long line of followers, not merely of dress, but also in profession of their design in coming ; while he adapted native rites (notably ancestral worship, to which we draw attention later) to Christian custom, or even condoned them. His own grave at Pekin is said to have the usual stone altar in front of it for offerings to the spirit of the departed. These inconsistencies, and the apparent subordination of the translation and circulation of the Scriptures of truth to the teaching of science and the manufacture of scientific instruments and machines of peace or war, it is not easy to judge with censure or excuse till we can transport ourselves to those times, and live that life over again amidst the surroundings of that courageous and devoted Mission. This we must say for the personal character of the great missionary, of whom a modern Protestant critic, in impassioned words, has said that " no missionary of any denomination has ever exerted in China, especially on her rulers and officials, a tithe of the influence that Ricci exercised." And when, in these recent days, Protestant missionaries with zeal and self-denial, and perhaps without knowledge, will adopt the dress and habit of a fakir in their tours, or in somewhat earlier days would put on the semi-disguise of the native dress so as to pass unobserved inland, it is not easy to censure unheard one whose voice ceased to teach and preach 300 years ago (he died with

full faith and hope on May 11, A.D. 1610, at the age of fifty-eight). But this due recognition of personal merit and of individual conscientiousness does not imply that we condone the preaching of an adapted or additional Gospel beyond "the law and the testimony of prophets and apostles," neither can such a Gospel so preached and so accepted be rightly said to set up the kingdom of God on earth. An additional Mediator besides the one only Name, an additional source and dispenser of grace besides the one Fount and Author of grace, is surely anti-Christian. And such teaching has, we greatly fear, characterised the work of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, through the three centuries of their chequered but nobly persistent course. Yet the sure belief remains, that as with the imperfect utterances of official Nestorianism, so with the "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" in the Roman Missions, numbers untold, brushing aside or pressing past these grave errors, clasped the central truth of the Atonement and the true meaning of the Cross of Christ, which Rome has never, to her honour, denied, though she obscures it too often, and enervates its single and lasting efficacy.

It must be remembered that Ricci's detractors, as well as his enthusiastic admirers, were of the same faith and of the same Church. "Who shall deny that he was a truly great and pious man?" exclaims a biographer at the close of a minutely graphic narrative of his extraordinary career, a narrative which we can do no more than sketch in bare outline.

Another writes:

"Ricci was active, skilful, full of schemes, and endowed with all the talents necessary to render him agreeable to the great. . . more a politician than a theologian. . . . Kings found in him a man full of complaisance; the pagans a minister who accommodated himself to their superstitions. . . . He preached in China the religion of Christ according to his own fancy; . . . adopting the sacrifices offered to Confucius and ancestors, and teaching the Christians to assist at the worship of idols, provided they only addressed their devotions to a cross covered with flowers."

Now these words also come from a Roman pen. They allude probably to the grave catastrophe and scandal which overtook the Church about thirty years after Ricci's death. He had left rules for the direction of the Jesuits in which he described these ancestral rites as merely civil and secular, and as such to be tolerated in their converts. Morales, a Spanish Dominican, opposed this view, declaring these rites to be idolatrous and sinful, and the Propaganda condemned them, Pope Innocent X. confirming this sentence in 1645. In the year 1656 Pope Alexander VII., persuaded by Martini and the Tribunal of Inquisition, accepted their view, that is, Ricci's view, that ancestor worship was merely of a civil nature; and his decree, though cautiously and diplomatically worded, so as not expressly to contradict that of Innocent, was in fact opposed to it and reversed it. In 1665 a Conference of Jesuits was held at Canton, and they thankfully accepted Alexander's decision, "as

thus the dire calamity would be avoided of shutting the door of faith in the face of innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our Christian religion if forbidden to attend to these things which they may lawfully and without injury to their faith adhere to."

The dispute was soon renewed, and in 1693 Maigrot, Vicar-Apostolic of Fukien, issued a decree on his own authority in opposition to the decision of the Pope (Alexander) and of the Inquisition. In 1699 the Jesuits appealed to the non-Christian power of the great Emperor K'ang-hsi against Maigrot's spiritual jurisdiction. K'ang-hsi replied in 1700, affirming the civil and non-religious character of ancestral rites. Pope Clement XI. refused to accept this Imperial gloss, as he regarded it, and issued a Bull approving of Maigrot's decree. The Emperor, on his side, refused to submit to the Pope, and in 1706 announced that he would countenance those only who preached the doctrines of Ricci, and that he would persecute those who followed Maigrot. Tournon, arriving from Rome as Apostolic Vicar and Visitor (with, it is presumed, either a fulminating edict, or with conciliatory suggestions), was rejected at Court, imprisoned at Macao by the Jesuit Bishop of that place, and actually died in confinement. A rapid advance of the Roman Catholic faith followed under this Imperial patronage; but the dispute and the calamitous *dénouement* of the controversy, gravely clouding and marring the name and fame of the great Ricci, damaging the boasted claim of absolute harmony and unity in the Holy Church, and almost ruining and uprooting the Christian Mission

formed indeed a dangerous crisis, which was speedily followed by persecution and repression both under K'ang-hsi and under his son and successor, Yung-chêng.

Before retracing our steps and completing the story of Ricci's life (which we give perhaps with disproportionate length, when the long roll of conspicuously able and devoted lives of his own colleagues and successors, and of the missionaries of the Reformation is considered; but then he stands out as chief head and founder of this greatest of Far Eastern Missions of late mediæval and earlier modern times, and a type of the character of the Jesuit workers), it will be in place, then, here, as applying also to other missions recent and still in operation, to notice the reason of this disruption and nearly this ruin of the Roman Catholic cause in China.

The teaching and practice with reference to ancestor worship which Ricci sanctioned, and which caused something like a rupture and schism in the Church, were justified by, so Intorcetta tells us in his *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, and possibly K'ang-hsi himself was guided by, the familiar saying of Confucius as to the filial piety of King Wu and the Duke of Chou in ancient times.

Filial piety, he says, is the skilful carrying on of the undertakings of parents and ancestors. The filial pious reverence those whom their fathers honoured, that is, their ancestors, and love those whom they regarded with affection. "Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive." (*Doctrine of the Mean*, XIX., 2, 5.)

On the supposition, then (so argued the Jesuits), that anything of divine honour is meant by these rites, how could Confucius use these explicit words? If divine honour and worship are paid to the living parents or seniors, then only can it be objected that divine adoration is paid to the spirits of the dead, for the service is described as quite identical.

Dr. Legge calls this ingenious reasoning. The fact is that if this passage can explain and condone and transfigure all the idolatrous and superstitious ancestral rites which followed, and which instructed Chinese are the most stern in condemning—instructed, that is, first in inspired Divine teaching and by intimate knowledge of what the rites mean—the reasoning is clear, logical, and conclusive. It is not sufficient, and Ricci was surely wrong. Ancestral worship is not now permitted in the Roman Church, and the danger of the old clashing between the different Roman orders is partially obviated by division of territory and jurisdiction between the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and the Dominicans.

But unless the ruthless and precipitate action of the new Rule in China sweeps away all traces of ancient Chinese literature and education, civilisation and immemorial custom, this episode and the whole subject of ancestor worship bring forward the question whether the Church should not interfere, and suggest to the awakened and educated Chinese generally the duty and the advisability of reverting to their primitive principles and definitions of reverent and loving commemoration and memory and continuance of the lives and example

of the long dead, stripped of superstition and false worship. A Christian rite may further be sanctioned for the Christian dead, fully satisfying all Chinese clinging to the past, and fully justifying Christians against the charge of undutifulness and neglect of the memory and love of the departed—a *laudatio funebris* such as that with which our Burial Service closes, but periodical on the birthday and on the higher natal day of departure —not prayer to the dead, nor for the dead, but thanks for the lives closed on earth and wrapped in immortality ; and praise

> " to His name
> Who is our life and victory."

Such was the primitive ancestral worship of the Church. " The Christians of Smyrna, it is said in the narrative of Polycarp's death (*Martyrium S. Polycarpi*, c. xvii.), drew a careful distinction between their love (ἀγαπῶμεν) for the Martyrs and their worship (σέβεσθαι, προσκυνοῦμεν) of the Saviour."

> " Think always of your ancestors,
> Talk of and imitate their virtues."

So we have it in the ancient Chinese odes (*Odes* III. i. i.) three thousand years ago ; and some such Christian rite of commemoration may sound loudly the Christian hope of immortality, while it relieves Chinese thought from the incubus of superstitious fears and idolatries, and conserves all that is pure and right in their filial piety and ancestral reverence.

We left Ricci with Ruggieri pressing inland from Canton and Macao in 1583, and while Ruggieri made a

long exploratory tour through Central China as far as Chekiang, which has almost ever since those days been a centre of Roman propagandism, Ricci with his scholarship and science and persuasive presence was gaining strong influence over the minds of the educated Chinese. Then reverses fell on the mission. Ruggieri left in despair to entreat the Pope to send an embassy to Pekin and never returned. Ricci was driven out, but returned before long undaunted to the interior, and though colleague after colleague died, he clung to the hope of reaching the capital itself. In May, 1595, he started northwards and reached Nankin, but expelled from that great city, he returned southward again to Nan-ch'ang, and being now appointed Superior-General of the Missions to China, and feeling the supreme importance of Imperial recognition and sanction, he again endeavoured to reach Pekin. Supplied by the watchful Valignani with various objects of curiosity and value to present at court, and helped by an official named Wang, he started, and reached the capital September 7, 1598. Through some misunderstanding and the suspicion in those early days that they were Japanese spies, audience was refused, and they retired again to Nankin, commencing on the way the task which was one of Morrison's great enterprises two hundred years later—the making of a Chinese dictionary. There is no reference to Ricci's translation of any portion of the Scriptures; too busy was he with other problems. But his well-known treatise on the doctrine of God (an extract from which appears in the great *Notitia Linguæ*

Sinicæ, an invaluable guide to the language by his scholarly co-religionist, Prémare) was composed about this time. On May 18, 1600, Ricci and de Pantoja started once more for the capital, and after encountering violence, and obloquy and spoliation from a rapacious eunuch, Ma T'ang, they at last, upon summons from the Emperor, who had heard the fame of their striking clocks, arrived (January 24, 1601) and were honourably received.

Having won his way, by heroism and indefatigable zeal, to the capital, he spent the last nine years of his life there in comparative rest from opposition and danger, but overwhelmed with "the care of all the churches" settled now through the Empire. About this time occurs the remarkable conversion of Paul Li (September, 1602), "a veritable apostle" as he is described; and later of Paul Hsü, baptised at Nankin, a man of the highest literary attainments, who, with his widowed daughter Candida, gave up their energies and his possessions to the spread of the faith — Christian professors, in those difficult days, "whose praise is" still living "in all the churches," and whose memory is perpetuated in the great Jesuit establishment near Shanghai—at Zikawei (Hsü-chia-wei)—occupying the family estate presented by the father and his noble daughter to the Church. Paul Hsü was a courageous champion of the faith in troublous times, and did all in his power to ward off or mitigate the troubles which soon beset the Church.

We can merely name some of Ricci's eminent

colleagues or successors—scholars, historians, authors, and all missionaries of the Cross—Trigault, Schall, Martini, Verbiest, Ripa (not himself a Jesuit and a severe critic of many of the Jesuit methods and the companion for a time of the imprisoned Tournon), Gaubil, Amiot, and many others. In 1631 the Dominicans and Franciscans arrived.

K'ang-hsi never became a Christian, but he built a magnificent church for the Jesuits in Pekin. Serious and widespread persecution and suppression followed after K'ang-hsi's death (1722), and both Yung-chêng (1724) and his successor, Ch'ien-lung (1736–1796) encouraged a general attack on the missionaries and on the converts, during which calamitous time hundreds of Chinese and ten European missionaries lost their lives.

The suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV. in 1773, the overbearing attitude of the Portuguese traders at Macao, the doubtful attitude of the East India Company, and all the complicated circumstances of China's arrogant exclusive policy, and Western pertinacious invasion—these and the overthrow temporarily of the Papacy in 1809, all affected or accompanied the rapid decline of the Roman Catholic Missions in China during the latter portion of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century. With the re-establishment of the Order of the Jesuits in 1822, missionary activity in China revived, but the period of partial eclipse lasted really for more than a hundred years, and up to the years 1858–1860 and the treaties

which re-opened the long-closed gates and formed practically the starting point of the era of modern missions. Christianity was not extinct during those dark years, and there shine through the gloom tales of heroic testimony even to death by missionaries and converts, showing that faith in the Crucified and love were not dead. The gravest censure must in all honesty be applied to the Roman policy of violent and sometimes truculent assault on, and opposition to, Anglican missions and non-Roman missions generally, rarely if ever, be it observed, instigated by aggressive or unfriendly action (but very much the reverse) on the part of Protestant missions. Such a policy has suggested the fear sometimes that the spirit which set on foot and carried out the Inquisition may still be alive. Grave condemnation also must be added of their teaching, openly, the most dangerous of Roman errors. Yet we cannot but thank God that China, so often left by the rest of the churches with stretches of silent darkness, heard through two hundred and fifty years the Gospel sounding from Roman lips, and that the labour of that long line of missionaries has not been in vain in the Lord.

We close the story of Roman Catholic Missions with an account * of the origin and aims of the French Missionary Society, or *Société des Missions étrangères*. This society is an association of secular priests hailing from various dioceses in France, who devote their whole lives to the work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen.

* Taken from the *China Review*, July–August, 1889. "History of the Churches . . . entrusted to the Society of the 'Missions Etrangères'"—Translated by E. H. Parker.

It originated thus. The Jesuit Father Alexander de Rhodes, missionary in Tonkin, revisited Europe in 1649, in order to beg the Holy See that Bishops might be appointed to the missions, already so flourishing, of the East Indies; which Bishops, with a view to setting those Missions on a firmer basis, should make it their special care to create a native secular clergy. This proposal was approved by Innocent X., and his successor, Alexander VII., in carrying it out in the year 1658, raised three excellent French priests of exemplary life to the episcopal dignity, to wit, Francis Pallue, Peter de Lamothe-Lambert, and Ignatius Cotolendi—the last to be Vicar Apostolic of the Nankin diocese.

Before departing for their Missions, the Vicars Apostolic, in order that the work thus begun should not fall through and perish in the event of their decease, left at Paris certain men, attached to them by friendship and by community of life, with the understanding that the latter should establish a seminary where should be examined and trained up such persons as should offer themselves as partners in the work, and co-operators in the evangelising of the infidels. It was thus first at this time, and by this agreement between the Bishop and the founders and moderators of the Seminary, that the Society, as it is called, of Foreign Missions was founded and constituted.

The first and foremost end of the Society was the institution of native priests in those places where the Gospel was preached. As soon as ever, then, the first Bishops arrived in the lands committed to their charge

they established a seminary for the training of native clergy. This seminary was first founded in Ayuthia, which was then the capital of Siam, and then was transferred, first to Annam, then to India, and was finally, in the year 1807, established in the island of Penang.

Besides the three Vicariates in India, the Society of Foreign Missions preaches in Burmah, Siam, Laos, in the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Tonkin, Tibet, in five provinces of China (Kuangsi, Yünnan, Kueichou, Ssŭch'uan, Liaotung), and in Korea and Japan.

The journal of Andrew Li (a product of the Seminary, where he had received no less than twenty-one years' training), when he was left alone in Ssŭch'uan in charge of the Christians there during the persecution of the eighteenth century, is a book of considerable interest and value, and a fine testimonial to the good work of the Society. Speaking of his own long training, Li says that the Jesuits " baptise a man to-day and ordain him to-morrow "—a statement, if it has any truth in it, in curious contrast with the high reputation for learning which the Jesuit Missionaries and some at least of their native priests still maintain.

The Greek Church, as such, can hardly be reckoned amongst the Missionary agencies in China. It was established in Pekin more than two hundred years ago, and apparently in connection with the early border wars between Russia and China in the time of K'ang-hsi. A colony of Christian Tartars, with a priest among their number, having been carried captive from the fort Albazin on the Amur, in 1685, Russia used the outrage

as a pretext for the establishment of an ecclesiastical mission, presumably as a Christian protectorate, with an Archimandrite as its head. An attempt to send a Bishop to Pekin was foiled by the Emperor in the eighteenth century. The Mission, still in possession at Pekin, has never been active in any direct effort to make Chinese proselytes—though the Bible and other Christian books were translated into Chinese—till within the past few years, when its emissaries have appeared as far south as Chekiang, establishing Churches and professing friendly relations with the Anglican Church. During the year 1900 four hundred of the seven hundred native adherents are said to have been massacred by the Boxers; but afterwards the Mission was re-established and placed at last on a firmer footing, with a Bishop at its head; and it is no doubt to this circumstance that the present activity is due. And we must not close this paragraph without mention of the Archimandrite Palladius, who had charge of the Mission in the latter half of the nineteenth century—one of the most learned and painstaking students of Chinese that Europe has yet produced, whose researches in the history of Christianity in China especially have left comparatively little for his followers to discover.

CHAPTER IX

Christianity in China

Missions of the Churches of the Reformation

The Missions, legendary and historical, tentative and effective, which we have described above, have covered, with long intervals, 1,800 years. The story of Missions of the Churches of the Reformation—some, such as the Anglican Church, recovering ancient conformity to the primitive and Apostolic Catholic faith, through emancipation from the nonconformity of Rome—some Free Churches, and, as we venture to affirm, unnecessarily and unwisely free from the bond of unity with this great protesting and attesting Anglican body—yet all loving the Lord Jesus Christ and His word and Gospel sincerely, and all loyal to His last command—this story covers scarcely one hundred years, and only half of that period with the narrative of work which in any effective way has attempted to cover the whole area of China. The story is a living, breathing narrative of patient waiting, of well-laid lines in preparations of works of eager watchfulness, of bold and adventurous forward movements, of success, of failure, of literary, evangelistic, educational, medical methods, and work early initiated and now vastly developed, of solitary conversions, of mass-movements, of savage massacre and noble martyr-

dom, of treachery and kindest welcome, of sowing in tears, and reaping in joy, with a long list of leaders and not less blest and noble workers in obscurity and in far-off regions—and now with triumph not far off, yet with signs of slackening zeal and declining resources, and study, rather than solving by action, of problems. This story, so rich in incident and adventure, yet as covering so short a part of the era under review, we must again only briefly summarise.

It is perhaps not difficult to account for the comparative apathy with reference to foreign Mission work, and notably with reference to work in China, which affected the Churches of the Reformation, both in Europe and in England, after that great enlightening and emancipating event in the story of the Church. The excuses, however, apply to failure rather in a human enterprise, and in earthly warfare, than in an enterprise wholly Divine, in which superhuman aid might have been looked for and invoked under any circumstances. And it must be remembered further, not only that these earlier Christian campaigns which we have been reviewing seem not to have waited for what are called sometimes too complacently Providential openings, but to have made their ventures, believing the Divine commission of continuous urgency; but, also, that when the Church did awake, and her great Missionary agencies and tentative Missions were set on foot, the world seemed more fast closed than ever, till the iron gates leading into the City opened to them, unexpectedly so often, and as if of their own accord.

Let the reader allow the names and actors to pass in fancy across the stage of time and of life in Europe from Luther's year (1517) onward. He will then understand that with this restless tide of change and clamorous roar of unrest and conflict, material, spiritual, practical, religious—the sky so dark above—the near and far horizon so shrouded in mist and gloom—it must have seemed impossible for churches or individuals to find time or heart for thought about fabulous and far-distant China. And when, in the middle of the eighteenth century (or rather earlier than that), deep sleep fell on the Church and on the sects also, not so much of rest after toil and conflict, as of the indifference of formality and ill-concealed unbelief —till Law, and Butler, and Wesley, and Whitefield, and Fletcher, woke the dead inside the Church and outside—whence was the Missionary spirit to arise, and where could the messengers of the Church be enlisted? Yet in 1698 the S.P.C.K. was founded by Dr. Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, and four lay friends. This Society in turn became the nurse, if not the mother, of the venerable S.P.G. (the oldest Missionary Society in England), founded in 1701. For a Missionary spirit had been awake some little time; Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sailing the seas in 1578, "was filled with compassion for the poor infidels led captive by the devil." The Commons of England were stirred by the first breathings of this spirit. "They felt bound to assist in the work" of which they had heard, amongst the Red Indians, and in John Eliot's labours. The new charter of the New

England Company provided that care should be taken to propagate the Gospel, and a collection was made throughout England on behalf of the Indians. These funds, which had been subsequently seized, were restored through Richard Baxter's disinterested and magnanimous efforts; and a new Charter of Incorporation was granted to the S.P.C.K., out of which grew the now venerable and world-wide worker, the S.P.G., the Incorporation of which expressed the first distinct and general recognition of Missionary duty.* Then awoke also the piety and apostolic zeal of the Moravians —that most whole-hearted Missionary Church (and one very near in doctrine and order to the English Church), a Church which can offer one out of every twelve Communicants as a Missionary to foreign parts—our English Church proportion being one in every two thousand. They went forth everywhere, preaching the word, and very early reached Greenland and South Africa; and to them belongs the honour later of being the first to attempt to enter Tibet, more a hermit region than Korea, and to penetrate and occupy Lhassa and Lower Tibet.† Schwartz, meanwhile, was working almost alone in India (1750–1798) at Tranquebar, under the earlier Danish Mission, and at Trichinopoly and Tanjore under the S.P.C.K.; winning the reverent confidence of the East Indian Government on one side, and of men like Hyder Ali and the ryots on the other,

* Bishop Boyd Carpenter, *A Popular History of the Church of England*, p. 335.

† The Moravian Church, of a community never exceeding 70,000, has sent out 2,000 missionaries.

by his conspicuously virtuous and disinterested life, his deep piety and faithful preaching and teaching—and Mohammedans, Hindus, and Christians joined in reverence for his memory. Yet China is still untouched, unblessed, by this more modern Missionary zeal. But now, as the nineteenth century dawned, a change draws on. One year after Schwartz's death (1799) the C.M.S. was founded, a loyal, and now most vigorous handmaid of the English Church. Its title bears the words descriptive of its aims and scope: "For Africa and the East." The S.P.G. was, and still is, largely absorbed in work for those foreign parts which formed in old days the "plantations," and now the Colonies and Eastern Empire of England—with special Missions amongst the races and tribes surrounding—as well as providing for the spiritual needs of our fellow-countrymen abroad. The C.M.S. aimed chiefly at the vast regions *in partibus infidelium*, and beyond and outside the British Empire of those days. And to the Farthest East, even to China, the earliest attention of the infant society was drawn. The story which we must narrate but in a sentence or two, is, one would hope, if it be not too late for the hope, prophetic of a yet closer and practical union between Nonconformity and the ancient Church of England than the true union of sympathy, and trust, and devotion which we relate, implied. A Nonconformist minister, Moseley, in the Midlands, fired as he had been for some years by a longing for the evangelisation of the world, and searching and looking for some practical means for his enterprise,

which he knew to be his Lord's command, found in the British Museum a Chinese manuscript, unsigned and undated (the authorship of the translation or copy is unknown, and may have been Franciscan of the fourteenth century, or Jesuit of the sixteenth), containing the Gospels, with a harmony, and the Epistles, not quite complete, in Chinese. Moseley at once formed the plan of printing these most precious pages, and distributing them by some means in China. He raised a considerable sum of money for the purpose, and finding no other available agency, he offered the money, and the manuscript to be copied, to the C.M.S., with an earnest request that they would undertake the work. They accepted there sponsibility, and in the Report of 1804 appears the item: "China Fund, £3,000." Through strange and unaccountable recommendations made and obstacles raised, the C.M.S. was constrained to abandon the task and offer it to the S.P.C.K.* That Society, too much occupied with other work, declined it, and it passed then into the hands of Robert Morrison and the L.M.S., recently founded and joined at first by Churchmen and Dissenters alike. Morrison went out alone to China in 1807, taking with him a copy of the manuscript mentioned above, and if it was his own handiwork, the writer can testify to the excellence of the transcript, and the toil, and almost genius for such work of copy displayed by this unskilled and 'prentice hand. He was obliged, like Carey entering India, to travel by

* Dr. Eugene Stock, *History of the C.M.S.*, Vol. I., pp. 74 and 465.

way of America, and with obstacles of Chinese suspicion and even murderous hostility (for a price was set on the head of any Chinese who would dare to help this intruding foreigner in study or translation), and obstacles from Western officials of either indifference or dread of the effect of his work and relationship with the Chinese—greater obstacles than either A-lo-pên, John de Monte Corvino or Ricci ever encountered—he yet held his ground for twenty-seven years, translating the whole Bible into Chinese (1823), compiling a Dictionary of the Chinese language, and founding an Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca; never able to preach in public, and baptising at most half a score of converts; his Bible and Dictionary superseded in later years, yet laying foundations which have helped in uplifting and upholding the great superstructure of Biblical versions and religious and general literature of rare and classical excellence. By his strong lead, a high example of patient and exulting faith, this "last and boot-tree maker" stands prominently as one of the chief founders of the Church in China, even as his noble brother, the consecrated cobbler Carey, stands for India. Lassar and Marshman's great version of the Bible into Chinese, 1822, executed under more peaceful circumstances, because on Indian ground at Serampore, yet under far greater disadvantages as to Chinese scholarly assistance, must not be forgotten in the story of these century-old events.

The supreme importance of the translating and printing and circulation of the Bible in the foundation

and edification of the Church in China must be remembered when we note that though printing had been discovered very early in these 1900 years under review, and practised in China nine hundred years before Morrison, neither A-lo-pên nor the Franciscans, nor the Jesuits seem ever to have printed and circulated generally their Bible translations.

Morrison worked for the most part alone all his life. Milne joined him, an able, adventurous man, whose name and memory have not quite died out in Chekiang, which he visited about the time of Morrison's death. Gutzlaff also was the free lance of these stormy days amidst the gathering shame and catastrophe of the opium trade. The country coastwise and inland was fast closed—yet nothing could turn him from his purpose of depositing somehow and somewhere his precious treasure of Bibles on Chinese soil, and within reach of Chinese readers. His name lives on up and down the China coast, in lighthouse and beacon, on pilot-boat and launch ; even as his heart's desire was to kindle a brighter light to guide the Chinese home. The C.M.S., not forgetful of their early love and care, conferred with Morrison himself in 1824, during his one visit to England—and again by letter in 1835, to which letter, as Morrison had gone to his rest, Gutzlaff replied—as to possible strategic points for mission adventure ; and he named Singapore as a first parallel of approach, where now there are strong missions among Chinese and Malays (with the great Borneo Mission near) and the noble cathedral founded by the writer's venerable uncle.

Gutzlaff further recommended, with almost audacious prophecy, Hangchow in Chekiang, which is inland, and was actually occupied for residence and permanent and expansive work by the C.M.S. in 1864, the first attempt at inland missions away from the sea or river ports.

In 1836, partly in consequence of Gutzlaff's report, the C.M.S. sent out a mission of inquiry to China; but with the disputes and wrongs and treacheries which led to the first opium war (July 5, 1841—September 15, 1842) impending, nothing was attempted, till in 1844 the C.M.S. occupied Shanghai, the great commercial metropolis of the Far East—joined there in the following year by the American Protestant Episcopal Church, which had carried on tentative work previously in Java and in Amoy.

They found missionaries of other societies in Shanghai, American and English, for early advantage had been taken of the opening of the five ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, for trade and for residence after the war; but the edict of toleration, and the revocation of the persecuting edicts of 1724 and later, were of little benefit till after the second war, and the Treaty of Tientsin subsequently in 1860. The C.M.S. occupied Ningpo in 1848 (after tentative work in 1844), from which centre her missions have broadened out to Pekin, 1862, subsequently (1880) passed to the care and jurisdiction of the S.P.G.; to Hangchow, 1864; Shao-hsing, 1861, and permanently 1870; Chu-chi, 1877; T'ai-chou, 1887. And earlier Foochow was entered in 1850; and Hongkong, a Crown colony since

XV.—SHÊN ÊN-TÊ

[*To face p.* 360.

1842, and the seat of a bishopric since 1849, became a C.M.S. mission centre in 1861. From thence C.M.S. missions have extended to Pakhoi (Pai-hai) and Canton, and to Kuei-lin and Kuangsi, and recently to Northern Hunan ; whilst to the far west of China, in a large district of Ssŭch'uan, and near the borders of Tibet, after a tentative mission under the Rev. J. H. Horsburgh, the C.M.S. is working in the Western China Diocese, by mutual arrangement with the C.I.M., which had preceded our church mission thither some time before. The S.P.G., with the loud and persistent and ever more urgent calls from her great missions colonial and imperial, and in non-Christian tribes and nations, could not take part in English Church work in China till a quarter of a century later than the C.M.S. But she is strong and growing now in the north, with a new diocese of Shantung recently formed ; and with a Canadian bishop in Honan, and another bishopric projected in Manchuria. The growth of the native church in the north is slower than in Mid-China, but that organisation and aggressive evangelistic work are both prospering. Some earlier famine work by Bishop Scott, now, after nearly forty years, retiring, and evangelistic work amongst the pilgrims at the foot of the T'ai-shan, demand notice. And now, at last, a remarkable climax has been reached only a year ago, when, in conjunction with the American Church (whose advent and growth confined to the Yang-tse Valley, but strong and vigorous there, have been remarkable), a general convention and synod of all Anglican missions and churches was held, as the out-

come of long and anxious deliberations, and some serious dissensions for a time; and the Constitutions and Canons and Synodical Order of the "Holy Catholic Church of China" were formed. This Church is Chinese, observe, not English, American, Canadian, though in full and, we believe, permanent communion with the Anglican Church. It will be independent, and soon, with its own Chinese episcopate, self-governing;—not as independent and non-conforming, but "all speaking the same thing," Holy Scripture the rule and guide; "no divisions, perfectly joined together in one mind and in one judgement" and truth.

We have confined our review thus far of mission work in China since the gradual opening of the fast-closed gates, chiefly to the operations of the Anglican missions, both from the impossibility of following in detail the developement of other missions and churches, and also from the fact that with the exception of the China Inland Mission, formulated and founded in 1867, and working exclusively in China, but working there with whole-hearted devotion, and helping strongly in the evangelisation of fourteen or fifteen out of the eighteen provinces of China—with this great exception, the missions of the English Church under the C.M.S. are more widespread and numerous in workers and converts than those of any other individual Church. But gratitude and honesty combine in demanding full and admiring recognition of the men and women, dedicated and sent out to China during the past sixty or seventy years, by, it is believed, eighty-three different Christian

bodies—there were more than fifty organised churches actually represented at the great Centenary Conference in memory of Morrison held in 1907. Thank God for the zeal and devotion and self-denial and obedience to the command of the King so exhibited. But is there not blame—and yet is it so easy to apportion the blame? —for this travesty of the Union of Christendom, this distorted picture of the One Church of the Living God?

The very roll of names of these hundred years, each one surrounded, in history which must not die, and in the records above, by busy scenes, tells first of scholarly research and study and translation and literary clothing of the revelation of God in Chinese classical or colloquial dress—Morrison, Medhurst, Bridgman, Boone, Stronach, Milne, Edkins, Burdon, Legge, Schereschewsky, Nevius —we mention those only whose voices are still, and their strong intellects and scholarly toil and busy pens at rest for a while. Great preachers also and itinerators and evangelists and explorers are on the roll—their voices still, their eager feet at rest, but their works following—Gutzlaff, Burns, Cobbold, Russell, Rankin, Muirhead, Lechler, G. E. Moule, Hoare, Ashmore, Hudson Taylor, David Hill. Great travellers also for Bible distribution, a work of supreme importance, and often of great danger and risk—Wylie, Williamson and many more. Doctors, too, and nurses, the pioneers of the medical organisation, of noble hospitals and itinerant dispensaries, and leper and opium refuges, and asylums, with the glad sound of the Gospel in every ward and in every waiting-room—McCartee, Lockhart, Mackenzie,

Moravian martyr doctors in Tibet, and just lately the noble Jackson dying as he fought the plague in Harbin. Martyrs, too, many in the mission ranks—at Ku-cheng, at Tientsin, at Ch'ang-sha; and during the awful Boxer days, so many thousands—the lowest estimate 15,000—of Chinese men, women and children too, choosing deliberately and against almost passionate entreaty from friends and kith and kin, the fire, the sword, the flood, rather than deny and revile their beloved Lord, or spurn and stamp on His Bible. The heroism of the Chinese Christians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, during the siege of the Legations, will ever be remembered. Great teachers there have been also, who rest from their labours;—educationalists, whom modern fancy supposes to be a class of Christian workers manufactured by these modern enlightened times. Not so; we have had education, primary, secondary, and, quite early in mission life, higher and liberal as well; education, that is, sound and thorough in Chinese language and literature, and, in all grades and classes and stages, *religious* and avowedly Christian, with Western languages and literature in some cases superadded, but never, where the education-problem-hunter was in his senses, superseding the Chinese and religious and general curriculum.

The epoch-making events, which have broken into and retarded or accelerated the tide of time during these seventy years of modern history—events in the political world and in missionary areas, to each of which long historical narratives might be attached—we must again describe by a summary of names and places alone

retaining one great cataclysm, the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, for special mention in our closing chapter, with some fuller details also of the eras and events summarised here. These leading events then were, say, about twenty in number—the war between China and England arising out of the opium trade disputes, 1841–1842; the "Arrow War," 1857–1860, more remotely connected with the same disastrous causes; the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, a semi-Christian and morally-reforming movement, 1846–1850, but a rebellion and a devastating flood of conquest and bloodshed and unrest, 1853–1864; the murder of Mr. Margary and the Tientsin massacre; the famines, notably that of 1877–1878—£100,000 contributed by foreigners for their relief, and missionaries the leading almoners, as well as many noble civilians; the dispute with France; the complaints and aggressiveness of Germany, consequent on the murder of two missionaries; the war with Japan; the Reform Edicts of the Emperor Kuang-hsü, 1898; their suppression and his removal; the Boxer Rising, 1900; the tortuous yet supremely astute policy of the Empress-Dowager; the Russo-Japanese War, agitating China and all the great East to its depths; the progress of reform and facilities for trade; the drastic changes in education, 1905-6; the death-knell of the opium trade and sale and preparation and use of opium struck in China and in England; the sudden and uncalled-for Revolution; the dethronement of the Manchus, and the erection of a Republic: so history has led us on. And what effects have resulted, accelerating or retarding the supreme

subject, Christianity, and the Kingdom of Christ in China?

A great conference of missionaries was held in Shanghai, in 1877, to review the situation at that time; 29 societies, 473 missionaries, and 13,035 communicants were reported, with a high tone of thankfulness, humiliation, and hope, and a call for co-operation. Again, in 1890, the missionaries met for conference, now 1,296 strong, with 42 societies and 37,217 communicants. They met again through stress of danger in Shanghai, 1899–1900, during the Boxer troubles; and lately, and probably finally, so far as the council of China's world of missions and missionaries on the same scale is concerned (for no hall or covered building on earth will hold those who should assemble—Chinese, vastly preponderating, and delegates from the Western churches—at the next council), in 1907. It was found then that the organisations had grown to 80 and more, missionaries to 4,000 or 5,000, communicants to 70,000, Christian adherents to 500,000; and every province was reported as touched by the Gospel light, and many as flooded by its radiance. A remarkable awakening has taken place amongst the so-called aborigines, the Miao-tzŭ, Hua-miao, Lolos, where tentative work was begun by American Baptists so far back as 1865. The statistics of the Roman missions are not easily accessible, but a million or probably a million and a half adherents were assumed as belonging to those churches. The conference met, crowded almost inconveniently in a hall attached to Chinese Young Men's Christian Association buildings,

and erected to the dear memory of the martyrs—Chinese, English, American, Scandinavian—who had laid down their lives in the Boxer rising. The resounding tone of the conference, which yet could not become quite articulate, was a wistful looking for and sighing for unity; and to this subject we devote our closing paragraphs. The growth of the native Church also was emphasised and illustrated, and also the vast field still unoccupied, and waiting for occupation, with the need of 4,000 more workers for the West, and more Chinese preachers and teachers, if in this generation China is to be evangelised.

The response to this appeal, and to the clarion call of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, seemed to be, for a while at least, both from Churchmen and from the Free Churches, retrenchment and reduction, marking time at best, or threatened retreat, rather than strengthening the stakes and lengthening the cords. We must not forget, however, to mention, among signs of progress and of settled advantage, the very remarkable developement of native self-support, self-government, and self-extension near Swatow, and the strong work of the English Presbyterians and the two other Presbyterian bodies now amalgamated in Amoy and Formosa, and the mass movements among the Miao and other tribes mentioned above—these last chiefly the fruit of the work of the China Inland Mission.

We venture, in conclusion, to ask what may possibly be the cause of slumbering interest and diminished zeal and self-denial, those grave symptoms in the Church's life,

already, however, as we write, yielding to the gracious power of the Holy Spirit in response to the Church's quickened supplications. And we ask further what really now and in the near future are the pressing needs of Christian work for Christ in China.

It seems sometimes, and in some directions, as though the Church of Christ, unconsciously doubtless, but really so, and with dangerous effect, were bent upon raising excuses for comparative and imagined failure, by the expenditure of time and thought and argument on the discussion of problems, most of them not new or unsolved, and the new ones the invention partly of imagination or conjecture. Such discussion and such Conferences draw the attention of the Church, and of her young and eager and keen volunteers, away from the main issue—evangelisation, salvation for all by one Saviour's grace alone, and the call and command 1,900 years old, " Go, preach."

Is there any authorisation for believing that we can now approach non-Christian systems, and call them not darkness, but glimmers of the dawn ; not error so much as guesses at the truth; not to be condemned and rejected, but by judicious concession welcomed as fellow-helpers ? Turn from dumb idols ; they shall be utterly abolished. The world by wisdom knew not God ; all the nations that forget God, and the sinners—and all have sinned—shall die. Is it anything but presumption to say that these dogmatic assertions, and the semi-intolerance of the One Faith—believe and be saved, believe not and be condemned—are antiquated and

obsolete? And is it an honest suggestion to out-going missionaries that they should go expecting to learn as well as to teach? Does not this uncertain-sounding trumpet, however sweetly reasonable, make very large numbers of possible and enquiring volunteers put off their armour, and hesitate to make themselves ready for the battle? The call is not so pressing, they reflect; the nations do not need our help so urgently after all. The Master's command was doubtless meant for other times than these spacious, enlightened, eirenic days! Then the ground is shifted, for that plainly will not account for failure, neither will it promise success. So students of problems tell you that China, for instance, will never be evangelised and saved but through her own people, and that a foreign Church will never be accepted by them; that that stigma must be removed, that it must be an indigenous Christianity which will conquer and cover the land. And this can only be accomplished through a highly-educated ministry, such a ministry being, it is imagined, at present not in evidence. "Take away all Western elements, then, from your teaching, and your order, and ceremonies"; and if we request to know what are the specially Western elements in the Christianity we preach and the Church we indicate—a Church not foreign in origin, but itself an exotic from heaven—our apologetic friends reply with astonishing bathos, that to make the native clergy or catechists in India or Japan dress in black frock-coats and wear white ties is a case in point. Yet this is a custom never dreamed of or enjoined by any bishop or missionary in his sober senses, but if ever

followed, followed and adopted through native insistence. Our further rejoinder is this: (1) that the Church, the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments, our order and discipline and worship are as much Eastern as Western; that they are Catholic, and their birthplace and home are in God's inspiration and the teaching of the Word, and the life of His Son; and (2) that the Chinese attach no stigma to Christianity as a foreign importation. Their instinct nowadays is strangely and almost madly receptive of all that is Western—education, inventions, manufactures, and forms of government—and they only want to know if this religion brought by foreigners, but not, they know well, instituted and born and bred by foreign inspiration, is true and good, or false and deleterious.

Further, it must be urged that the Chinese and the native Church are in very many places, and have been for years, eager and self-denying in self-extension, as well as increasingly desirous to attain to self-support, and in due time—a time drawing nearer now—to be self-governing. Once more, numbers of the native clergy and catechists and school-teachers are highly educated, and in that which will preserve them from false doctrine, heresy, and schism, when intellectual education and training alone will fail. Another problem is then put forward, or rather a theory, disastrous because so fallacious if taken as a rule, and not, as it is, a notable exception—to the effect that Western missionaries should abstain from preaching, lest the native Christians neglect their duty, and relegate it all to foreign hands

and lips; and lest foreign lips and tongues and thoughts should fail to make the Word of God, quick in itself, sharp as a two-edged sword, and ever bringing light, intelligible to the native mind; as if it were to be revealed only by the native tongue. And then—strange contradiction in terms—we are exhorted to refuse to pay with foreign money those very agents so indispensable for our work, lest it pauperise the people, and introduce permanent foreign control and hypocritical profession for the sake of gain. Every position here is fallacious; and so the insistence on them must be again disastrous to the missionary spirit. The missionary's express commission is to preach and evangelise. "What care I for service abroad for my Lord if I may not preach," volunteers will say. And is example nothing—example to the native in the foreigner's resolve to preach even with stammering tongue; example to the foreigner in learning to preach from his native colleague or pupil, as he trains him to preach the truth? Example, too, in foreign money for Church subsidy or native agency will surely and certainly foster, not blight, native self-denial. All this theorising must surely check and dry up missionary zeal and missionary giving at home, and this mistaken, however honest, talk may be a hindrance to missions just now far more serious, because so apparently new and suggestive, than any real failure or mistake in the field. Once more we notice new visions announced, which, however brilliant and imaginative, can have only one effect, namely, to draw off the mind and effort of the

missionary student or volunteer or active worker from the wholly spiritual and Divine nature of the work he is engaged in—the reality of sin and the fall on man's side, and the reality of conversion and regeneration as the Holy Ghost's almighty and all-blessed prerogative on God's side. We are told that the formation of character by education, by practice, by the athletics of body as well as of mind must precede intelligent and active faith; and, *per contra*, that the Church, Christ's body, and Christ Himself, are waiting incomplete and dissatisfied till the mosaic pavement and roof of the Church are complete by some specimens, we presume, being brought in —we had hoped for all of human colour, and language, and character, and virtue—in fact, that the Church needs the sinful and lost world more than the world needs the converting and renewing grace and salvation of God. This half-truth, distorted by fancy, spoiling that very half-truth itself, seems to ignore the fact that it is the gentleness of the Spirit's peace, not the supposed gentleness of the Hindu, which will be welded with the fine gold of the Church—that, in fact, conversion and the new Divine life form character, enlighten the mind, and clothe the new man with heavenly graces—all things made new thus, not character and native virtues or attractions coming first, as a lure and a foundation for God's work. We do not deny the attractions of such fancies, as with Bishop Westcott's much perverted and often misquoted belief, that the keen intellect of the metaphysical Hindu must come to our aid before we can fully understand St. John's writings. Our point is

this—that these are neither the times nor the occasions for the putting forth of theories and fancies; they can do nothing of practical value, and may greatly hinder that considered, and instructed, and enthusiastic progress of the Church which the world loudly demands now and for which it lies open. But how shall it advance—One, visibly—for the world must see it—or divided? Conforming? Non-conforming? Agreeing to differ, and not agreeing in corporate, and spiritual, and practical union? The matter is a pressing one in China. The Christians in China—we speak of course here chiefly of those attached at present to the different non-Roman bodies in China—are preparing for an independent Church of China. They are not unmindful altogether of what they owe to foreign emissaries of the Cross; they may, some of them, elect to follow and repeat in their independence the customs and teachings and forms of the Churches to which they owe their Christian faith. But with the native enthusiasm and the national spirit now abroad, the thoughtful and more enlightened Christians argue thus: "we wish you had not brought us your divisions; we accept the faith, but we look and search in vain for that Church which Christ Himself prayed for, and prophesied of, and enjoined, and which His Apostles described—one Church, in faith, in order, in discipline, and sacraments, and charity—and therefore we imagine you all to be mistaken, and decline to copy any but a united model, and must select, and extricate, or create a Church of our own." Can we face such a challenge as this unconcerned, unalarmed? Is it too

late before we surrender, as some are already doing, thankfully and hopefully, all control and government to the native Church, to show them even yet that we can unite on one common basis of Apostolic and Primitive faith and order and creed and sacrament—one in matters of Christian conscience, taught and enlightened by the Scriptures of Truth, and one by laying aside for future adjustment all wholly minor questions of preference or prejudice or custom? It must be carefully noted that if thoughtful and earnest China does not want our differences, it most certainly does not want our doubts. If we are presumptuous enough to offer to them a book which shall surpass in authority and in wisdom their old canonical literature, that book must be veracious, trustworthy, inspired in all its parts. If we present a religion unique, Catholic, and superseding all human religions, that too must be dogmatic as with divine origin and sanction. We have such a book, the Bible. Have we not such a Church, the English Church—if she remains true to her faith and order; not relapsing into later Roman error and non-conformity; not patronising or adopting the rationalistic assumptions and unassured results of criticism, which, invalidating the authority and veracity of the Church's rule of faith, invalidates also that of the Church's Lord ("amazingly modern" is Professor Gwatkin's remark about the description quoted by Eusebius of the teaching of the school founded Theodotus about A.D. 190—"they lay hands on the Scriptures without fear, professing to correct them")? If now the Church purges herself from error thus on

either side, here will lie and rest a Church " foursquare," a quadrilateral, a one and true basis and trysting place for Christians. Here, if they will come and see, the eighty differing Churches in China will find all the truth they love and need, but in harmony, not in isolation or exaggeration ; and joining thus and presenting to the Chinese our Lord's own model and ideal, the Church of China will be gladly one in Christian communion with the Church Catholic, and strong for the glory of God and the increase of His Kingdom.

CHAPTER X

China's Relations with Foreign Powers

We have described in some detail the effect produced on China and its people by the advent of the teachers and professors of religion and philosophy from the West. In the present chapter we propose to notice the influence, for good or evil, on the political and social history of China produced by her intercourse with the West, and the changes in the unchanging East brought about or stimulated by that intercourse.

The drastic revolution at present in progress must also be noticed; but hardly so much as a matter of history, for it is only history in the making, as a note of time, and as a phenomenon not without some close connection with the changes and revolutions which preceded it.

The earlier touch of East and West—or more strictly of West and East—intercourse attempted by travellers, explorers, by embassies, or official letter—so far as the records preserved guide us, lead to the conclusion that they had much more effect on the restless and inquisitive West, than on the self-satisfied East. So far from revealing to China the existence of empires and powers, not so far from them, with civilisation and facilities for trade, and warlike capabilities also, which might make

it well to placate them and win their friendship, and perchance commercial mutual benefit as well, these Western advances only served to gratify the Chinese rulers by the evidence of some slight intelligence and perception, even amongst these Western barbarians, as to the supreme power and magnificence and central rule of China. It took a long time to reveal to the West an adequate idea of the extent and resources and power of China—her strength and her weakness, her civilisation and intelligence, her varying moods of courteous welcome and jealous exclusion. But it has taken much longer to reveal to China the fact that the younger civilisation of the West has some features and substantial benefits which China may well imitate and share. And now with the vexatious clumsiness of a giant's awakening from long slumber, China is stripping herself of her old raiment, and putting on ill-fitting because hastily measured and woven new garments.

The first definite attempt at official intercourse, during the Christian era, was the embassy of inquiry sent by the Emperor Marcus Antoninus in A.D. 166, to the Emperor Huan Ti of the Later Han dynasty, who reigned A.D. 146–167. This is described by Chinese authors as a mission "with tribute," as from subjects to a great suzerain; and as an act of clemency trade was thenceforward permitted with Canton. The Roman historian, on the contrary, but with less authentication for his veracity, represents the Seres and Indians as coming with awe and veneration to salute as vassals the Majesty of Rome, bringing presents of elephants, gum, and plants.

About 150 years later than this, intercourse of a different kind took place between the near West and the Chinese border, which brought not merely in great measure blessing to China, but in its turn and after the lapse of centuries became one chief stimulant of friendly commercial intercourse between China and the West. Tea, we are confidently told, is not indigenous in China. Its growth and culture there cannot be traced further back than the middle or early years of the fourth century. But somewhat earlier than this we read of a people called the Sesatæ coming yearly to the frontier of the Sinæ, and in a neutral territory between their own country and that of Thina, bartering with the Sinæ articles in exchange for *malabathrum*, which was probably the tea-leaf, and that these people came from the mountainous regions of Assam and Yünnan, where indeed quite recently the tea-bush has been found growing wild. The two Arab travellers who visited China A.D. 850 and 877, the first authentic narrators and observers that we possess, speak of tea as in general use during the T'ang dynasty. The same travellers inform us of the very considerable commercial intercourse which had prevailed between the West and China, from the time of Justinian, A.D. 482–565, up to the period of their travels. The silkworm was surreptitiously introduced from China into Greece, during Justinian's reign, and the large number of merchants, Arabians, Jews, Christians and Parsees, at Ganfu is described by Abusaid. Ganfu has been identified with Marco Polo's Canfu or Kan-p'u, a port of Kinsay or

Hangchow, but was more probably Canton, known then as Kuang-chou or Kuang-fu. No fewer than 120,000 Western adventurers and merchants in Ganfu are said by Abusaid to have been exterminated at the close of the ninth century. The magnificent city of Hangchow, itself a centre of trade and commercial and political action and splendour in Marco Polo's days (A.D. 1275–1292), lies on the banks of the Ch'ien-t'ang river, about forty miles from its funnel-shaped mouth, and the entrance of the great Bore described above, and about sixty miles from Cha-p'u, well known in early and mediæval days, and 100 or 130 miles from the "Gates of China," the Chusan Archipelago, and its numerous channels. There must be something very specially advantageous and remunerative for commercial intercourse in Hangchow, from this historical fact of its early attraction of trade to its borders—and from the fact that it was selected at first as one of the ports to be opened for foreign trade after the first opium war with China. And the reason for the abandonment of this modern project, namely, the terror of the great Bore on the river—the only practicable water-communication for sea-going craft with the outer ocean—is also our reason for wondering again why a port approached by waters so dangerous and so crossed by shoals and shallows should have had such a history. The Heaven-sent barrier, as the Chinese have called it, the natural or perchance supernatural defence of Shanghai in its great tidal bar at Woosung, the outer port of Shanghai, preventing the promiscuous approach of foreign shipping

for peace or war, has been at last circumvented and practically removed; but the Hangchow Bore is a far more formidable deterrent, and the trade of Hangchow finds outlets now by the Grand Canal and its branches to Shanghai and beyond.

The story of the attempts at commercial intercourse during the Middle Ages represents to us the pictures of the West awed by the reputed power of the Far East, and sending embassies and tentative missions, with petitions, and what the Chinese construed as tribute rather than courteous presents; and meanwhile China sent no official embassies to the West, contented to leave the outer Barbarians alone, neither fearing their power nor much coveting their territory or possessions —for why should a suzerain fear or attack his vassals? And page after page of the long story is flecked by alternating sunshine and gloom—sunshine of comparatively long periods of open doors and freedom for trade and residence, "thousands of Western traders resorting to the land of Seres and the valley of the Ganges"; and favour as in the Polos' time under the Khans; and concession for trade to the Portuguese, 1516 and 1517, and on the occasion of their subsequent embassies of vassalage. Concessions were granted for a while in Formosa, during the stormy and calamitous tenure of that island by the Dutch. Then disturbances and gloom pass over the picture, in massacres of these Western strangers by the suspicious and hostile and too often treacherous Chinese, violence not seldom instigated, however, by the crimes of the visitors. The Portuguese

between the years 1521 and 1587 established, apparently unchallenged, a factory at Ningpo, traces and legends of which occupation, as well as of the English factory there in 1759, still survive in the city; and the writer has seen a spot on the coast south of Ningpo, near Nimrod sound, where numbers of Portuguese lie buried, a part of the 12,000 "Christians" who were destroyed in 1587 for their un-Christian conduct. The Russians in earlier days were the only Western power which, probably from their comparative contiguity, sending embassies to China, compelled the Chinese, from motives of prudence, to treat them not as vassals and tribute-bearers, but as equals; and yet even the Russian envoy, Ismailoff, sent by Peter the Great in 1719, did submit to the humiliation of prostrating himself before the Emperor, with the vague compromise that Chinese embassies to Russia, if ever sent, should conform to Russian customs.

The enterprise of England in endeavouring to open the gates of China—and not merely by private undertakings—from 1596, when Queen Elizabeth sent an envoy with a letter to the Emperor, and from 1637, when, backed by force, Waddell planted the British colours on the walls of Canton, has had a wider and more lasting effect than the action of any other Western power. The story of the next 200 years which passed after Waddell's visit, and up to the culmination of the doubly deplorable opium controversy and conflict in the war of 1840, is a chapter of history dismal to the last degree; and it leads the reader to the conclusion

that the balance of blame for such long-drawn-out events cannot be with certainty struck. It is the custom for historians who affect impartiality to throw the blame for the most part on the action of Christian powers, and notably of England. But where accidental homicide is persistently treated as murder, and a life for a life, without trial or inquiry, insisted on ; and when murder is made thus a judicial act by the legal authorities of the land ; and when, moreover, in the poet and statesman Su Tung-p'o's maxim, the world is told that the barbarians are like beasts, and to be ruled only, as the ancient kings so well understood, by non-rule, then we cannot so much wonder at, however deeply we deplore, the " non-rule " of temper, and courtesy, and justice, which so often characterised the retaliation of the West. This only must be remembered and insisted upon in our review of history, that China's welcome, and friendly attitude towards her Western visitors, however modified by the arrogant assumption of central and supreme power and control, preceded her exclusive and hostile and tortuous policy, and this later policy must be explained in part at least by the faults, and force, and arrogance on the other side. It was the notoriety of this hostility of the Chinese Government and officials to all foreign intercourse, and to trade as such, which seemed to many to justify the persistent refusal of the East India Company, or her traders under the ægis of that powerful and energetic company—backed, too, so largely by governmental power in England—to listen to the remonstrances, and entreaties with tears, and threats, and machinations

of the Chinese against the Indo-Chinese trade in opium. They would not believe, and England would not for many years believe, that any moral motive swayed the Chinese in their denunciation of this trade. It was merely a cloak cast round the true motive—an embargo on foreign trade altogether.

But to retrace our steps, the state of things in China passed rapidly from bad to worse; and with a constantly shifting policy in trade, with no acknowledged tariff, and no acknowledged medium of communication between the foreign and native residents, no wonder that smuggling was too much the order of the day, and that national credit, both Eastern and Western, was in great danger. The British Government at last roused itself to appreciate the danger, and they endeavoured to ameliorate and, if possible, to remove the causes of these continued troubles, and to place trade and the relations between Great Britain and China on a well-ordered and secure footing. Colonel Cathcart was sent on an embassy to Pekin in 1788, but he died in the Sunda straits on his way out; and in 1793 Lord Macartney, escorted by ships of war, and with a retinue and complimentary offerings to the Emperor, well calculated to inspire consideration and courteous welcome, reached Jehol. Such courtesy and such a welcome they did as a matter of fact receive. The demand at first made for prostrations indicative of vassalage was readily waived; the entertainment of their guests by the Chinese was on a sumptuous scale; Lord Macartney was even allowed and invited to return through the

inland provinces from Pekin to Canton, and the narrative of his embassy and mission is almost a classic in modern travel. The veil was largely lifted from Western eyes which had so long clouded the vision of the real China, in its power and grandeur, its civilisation and magnificent pettiness; and China saw more than before what England might be or become to her in the courtesy and reasonableness and intelligence of her representatives.

But China would not even yet be weaned from the idea that this was the most splendid testimonial of respect ever paid by a tributary nation to their court, neither could she yet be diverted from her vexatious and uncertain policy as to treaties of commerce.

Once again, in 1816, Lord Amherst, who, like Lord Macartney, had been Governor-General of India, reached Pekin at the head of an embassy, with every accompaniment of friendly intention and courteous offerings; but he failed more signally than Lord Macartney, being refused an audience, as he would not appear as an envoy of a tributary power; and though his reception in the south was more courteous, and more indicative of some appreciation of England's power and sincerity, no real advantage followed.

But we have now reached and already entered deeply into the troubled sea of the opium controversy; and the history of that question, now we trust on the very eve of lasting silence and complete extinction, must be briefly described. It is noteworthy that thus far the intercourse between the West and China had produced

no appreciable effect on China's methods of civilisation and government; nor had they prepared the way at all for the changes and convulsions which now shake the land from end to end.

The history of the poppy in China has been treated in an official pamphlet prepared and published by order of the English Inspector-General of Foreign Customs in China, and we present the following brief summary of its statements and conclusions. The poppy seems to have been unknown in China previous to the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—907). It was then introduced by Arab traders as a soporific drug, and the plant, either as a handsome garden flower or as a useful medicine, is repeatedly mentioned down to the seventeenth century. At that time tobacco-smoking and tobacco cultivation were introduced from the Philippine Islands (A.D. 1621). In the time of the last Ming Emperor (A.D. 1627—1644), tobacco-smoking was as vigorously denounced and prohibited as opium-smoking was a hundred years later. Various ingredients were mixed with tobacco, such as arsenic with the tobacco used in water-pipes, and opium. The first Imperial decree against opium-smoking was issued about a hundred years after the Chinese counterblast to tobacco, namely, in A.D. 1729. Opium-smoking was known in Java before this time, and is described by the famous traveller, Kaempfer. It must have been a different habit from the more placid Chinese vice, for Kaempfer ascribes to this the "hamuk," or "running amok," not unknown in these modern days. Formosa seems to bear on her fair name the brand and disgrace

of having been the original den of opium-smoking; and the Japanese have found the regulation or suppression of this vice, in their recent occupation of Formosa, one of the hardest problems confronting them. In two native works on Formosa, published in A.D. 1746, descriptions are given of the habit, and of its results:

"The opium is boiled in a copper-pan. The pipe is in appearance like a short club. Depraved young men, without any fixed occupation, meet together by night, and smoke; and it soon becomes a habit. Fruit and sweetmeats are provided for smokers, and no charge is made the first time, in order to tempt men into the dens. After a while they cannot stay away, and will forfeit all their property so as to buy the drug. Soon they find themselves beyond cure. If they omit smoking for a day, their faces become shrivelled, their lips stand open, and they seem ready to die. Another smoke restores vitality, but in three years they all die. This habit has entered China ten or more years."

Already a decree against opium of the most stringent character had been promulgated, and the Chinese Government found itself face to face with a dangerous social evil. Meanwhile the poppy had entered Western China, introduced partly by Mohammedans, who had cultivated the plant in Arabia, Persia, and India, and who were a power in Yünnan before the eighteenth century. The East India Company, under Warren Hastings in A.D. 1781, appropriated by right of conquest the monopoly of opium, and looked about for a profitable market, since it would not sell well at home. At this time, as we

gather from a Report of the English House of Commons (A.D. 1780):

"The importation of opium into China was forbidden under very severe penalties. The opium on seizure was to be burnt, the vessel carrying it confiscated, and the Chinese salesmen were punished with death."*

In the face of this prohibition, which was well known, trusting to the cupidity and corruptibility of the Chinese Government, the first venture of this trade, destined to expand to vast and deadly proportions, was made by ships armed to the teeth, as if for some warlike or piratical enterprise. The coincidence of the supposed necessity for such an outlet for British commercial enterprise with Chinese exclusiveness, based this time on morality, and largely strengthened, as afterwards appeared, by a jealous policy as to trade generally, was, to say the least, unfortunate. It is a deplorable consideration that, almost to the margin of what are now the expiring days of the traffic, the only argument in defence of the trade and its history has been a sneering doubt as to the honesty of China's long protest, and the assertion that exclusive and almost immoral dislike of all foreign trade, and not highly moral hatred of opium, swayed the discussion. Thus much is beyond all dispute that to this period of the more active British Indian opium trade can be traced a strong stimulus applied to the destructive habit. The spectacle is half pathetic, half grotesque, of the loud denunciation of the trade and of the habit by the honest Emperor, Tao-

* *Cf. New China and Old*, pp. 94–96.

kuang, himself a reformed opium-smoker, and by his individual censors, and the connivance at the trade on the part of Viceroys and Governors and Taotais; till at last, with a desperate effort for the annihilation of the evil, and the seizure and destruction of 20,283 chests of opium at Canton, the war of 1840 was forced on by the high-handed but disinterested action of Lin Tsê-hsü. Our conclusion of the whole matter at this early stage of the disastrous history is, "that in the matter of opium, China was in the right, and England in the wrong; but that in many other matters China's attitude cannot be excused, nor England's annoyance altogether condemned. England was not unjustly out of patience with Chinese diplomacy (the determination, *e.g.*, not to deal with the foreign barbarians at all, on the basis of equality), though England was unjustly determined to force her trade, and more especially her opium traffic." The short war of 1840 was brought to a close by the cession of Hongkong to the British in 1841. (The other two places and points of advantage for trade and for influence, offered as alternatives, and declined on a tacit understanding that no other Western power should hold them, were the Chusan Archipelago, and the Island of Formosa.) The Treaty of Nankin was signed, five ports were thrown open to trade, and through subsequent treaties with the United States and with France in 1844 and 1845, the toleration of Christianity was obtained, and the persecuting Edicts of 1724 and later were rescinded. The grave contention about the opium trade was, however, left untouched, and the Chinese Govern-

ment, with the great trouble and danger of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion (1850–1864) on their hands, irritated by continuous opium-smuggling, challenged a second war by the seizure of the lorcha "Arrow" (October, 1856), insulting thus the British flag, which, however, was already insulted by its unauthorised use over a smuggling craft. The war which followed seemed ended by the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, but was renewed by Chinese audacious treachery at the Taku forts; and after the forcing of the passage, and capture of the forts, Pekin lay at the mercy of the Western powers, and the Treaty was ratified in Pekin itself. These startling and dramatic measures were taken while England was in the death-struggle of the Indian mutiny, the naval and military forces despatched to avenge the quarrel with China being actually diverted to Calcutta for a time, to succour the hard-pressed British power in India.

The Chinese, while signing as many as nine treaties with Western powers at this time, and opening the country far more widely to trade by the adding of ten sea-board or river ports to the five sanctioned by the previous treaties, declined even to discuss the dangerous and disastrous opium question, or to run any risk of a third war, and unwillingly, save by the impetus of despair, they admitted opium on the tariff.

We are concerned here chiefly with the history of the opium trade, and need not interpose a narrative of the after history of China's relations with the West and foreign powers generally, as that narrative does not, till its later periods, affect this special subject. The Tientsin

massacre of 1870 (which, but for France being locked in the arms of her terrible struggle with Germany, would have led probably to a war disastrous for China) ; the murder of Mr. R. Margary in 1875 (whom the present writer saw on the eve of his great journey across China to the Shan States and the Burmese frontier—accomplishing his object, but killed with refined treachery on his way back) ; war again imminent, and warded off at the last moment by the surrender of the Chinese and the signing of the Chefoo Convention, with proclamations posted and inspected for two years by British officials throughout the provinces, which also the present writer, then living inland, witnessed ; the unrest and riots and outrages to missionaries, and the unchecked circulation of blasphemous and scurrilous placards and caricatures, anti-foreign and anti-Christian, along the Yang-tse valley, and the joint protesting protocol of the Powers to China in 1891 ; the war without declaration of war with France, where Chinese chivalry exceeded even the hereditary chivalry of her foes ; the Ku-cheng (Ku-t'ien) massacre of August, 1895 ; the Chino-Japanese war shortly before this event, so disastrous and so widely awakening to China ; the *coup d'état* of 1898 ; the seizure of Kiao-chow (Chiao-chou) by Germany in consequence of the murder of two Roman Catholic missionaries ; the entry of Russia into Manchuria, and the fortification of Port Arthur, which the Japanese had captured in fair fight ; the British occupation of Wei-hai-wei as a counter-blast, and pledge of maintaining Chinese integrity ; and the various territorial demands and vexatious advances

of Western powers, leading up to the great terrors of the Boxer revenge; the collapse of that murderous but patriotic outbreak; the safe passage through fire and flood and the sword's sharpness of the Church of Christ; these, and the Russo-Japanese war, and the electric shock which thrilled through all Eastern and Far Eastern lands by the great triumph of Japan, and the creation in thought and aspiration and programme of a patriotic spirit and patriotic national ideals, scarcely uttered before—all these, except perhaps the last great clash between East and West, left the dismal opium question unsolved, and apparently insoluble. The great achievement of Japan first in defeating her gigantic Eastern neighbour, China, and then in defeating the great giant power of the West, most certainly suggested to China the reflection that one secret of Japan's strength, besides her adoption of so many Western appliances for peace and war, lay in her complete and almost indignant rejection and repudiation of any pretence to trade in opium, or any toleration of the cultivation at home of the poppy and the manufacture of the drug, or any toleration of the opium habit. "Now we shall be strong," was the enthusiastic note of gratitude from a Chinese mandarin, when he knew of the hope that England and the Indian Government would be ready honestly to co-operate with China honestly suppressing the vicious use of opium, and the native as well as the foreign growth and trade.

But to retrace our steps for a moment, we must remember, and with the profoundest remorse, that the

story of the opium trade, and of the opium curse, since the Treaty of 1860, was for fully fifty years a story of the widespread use of the drug; of fluctuations indeed in the Indian supply, but rather increase than decrease, and in China of vast extension of the area of poppy cultivation. So recently as 1902, shortly after the suppression of the Boxer outbreak, three most alarming symptoms were observable in China. First, opium-smoking was coming out into the glaring light of day, unabashed, and not done in secret or concealed as in former times, but as fashionable, and as common also in all classes of society, and as much a sign of hospitality as a cup of tea had been. Secondly, that women were in large numbers learning the habit. And thirdly, that, recognising the general and helpless adoption of that which the people yet knew to be poison and a curse, steps were being taken to reduce the effects of the habit, not by total abstinence, but by temperance, and "moderate suicide." The hold which opium had attained through the Empire so recently as 1907 is illustrated by the reports from the provinces given at that period by residents and careful observers. Take Kueichou for instance (a great opium-producing and exporting region, it is true); —this is the estimate of the number of opium-smokers only six years ago in that province: seven out of every ten men over twenty-five years of age smoked it habitually, and a smaller proportion, but a large aggregate, of women were smokers. Amongst the so-called aboriginal tribes, the Miao and others, opium-smoking was steadily on the increase. In Yün-

nan, too, the quantity of opium grown was yearly increasing, smoking was much more prevalent amongst the people, and their character and stamina were manifestly deteriorating. In the beautiful province of Fukien, 1,700 miles from Yünnan, the same state of things prevailed in 1907. The cultivation of the poppy was largely on the increase, and the people were reported as largely addicted to opium-smoking. In Honan the progress of the cultivation of the poppy had been considerably extended, and native opium was largely used. In Southern Chekiang also the notorious T'ai-chou opium, of evil repute for its strength and for the large quantities grown sixty years ago, was quite recently to be seen in its many-coloured deceptive beauty under the bright sunshine of May skies, covering thousands of acres, and the native and foreign trade, too, in full prosperity. Astonishing, then, to the very verge of the belief in a miraculous effect of God's providence and gracious power, is the present aspect of China's vast opium-producing provinces, of the native production and trade wholesale and retail (and the same is true of the foreign trade), of the cities and towns and villages of China, and of her social conditions of family and individual life. The poppy is uprooted, the sale of native opium is prohibited, the opium dens and palaces are closed, holocausts of pipes and lamps and apparatus of smoking have been offered in very many cities ; opium-smoking in private is illegal ; the Indian trade is so paralysed as to necessitate the stoppage, for a time at least, of all present sales in India for the Chinese market ; and China

seems within sight of complete deliverance from this great curse, if only she is able to hold fast to her resolution, and if morphia and foreign spirits and native liquors in excess do not fill the happy vacuum.

But we must not fail to notice the connection with this opium question, and also with the other reforms and changes which are now convulsing China, traceable in that greatest of all calamities, the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, that cataclysm which nearly overwhelmed China halfway through the nineteenth century, a century in all its course, indeed, marked by troubles and unrest. The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion is generally regarded by students of history as a grim and isolated event, with no special significance, and with no permanent influence in the fortunes of China or of the rest of the world. Yet, if we mistake not, it afforded the first symptoms of Western influence for the good of China, and not for aggression or dismemberment, or forceful interference. Hitherto, as we have seen, the West had been pushing Eastward with mingled awe and inquisitiveness for its own advantage; now China seemed to be holding her hands Westwards to lay hold of and adopt reforms and changes and inventions which might be of practical use in the land. The tendency and movement were premature—the people were in no true sense awake to the advantage of such changes, though profoundly aware of the degradation, and corruption, and imbecility which had fallen on the yet ideally high system of the Government and social order of the Empire. And it is a significant symptom, in a quarter where we should least expect it, of the

acknowledgment in the action of the leaders of the great Rebellion, that the higher duty and function of the ruler of the people is not to legislate so much for what the people wish as for what the king perceives that they really need. Is it not a phenomenon almost unique in the history of the governed and their governors that, disregarding the mere voice of popular acclaim, the leader shall listen only to the voice of justice, and integrity, and high morality, and the quiet enumeration of what will best advance the moral and material prosperity of the land? Not only were schemes proposed and proclaimed in the best days of the T'ai-p'ing for higher education, retaining the old system with reforms and supplementary learning in method and subjects from the West; for Christian instruction also, and the Bible the chief text-book; for facilities afforded to Western visitors and merchants for inland travel, and to trade generally in the inner waters of the great land; schemes also for railways and telegraphic communication, and for improved roadways and inland locomotion generally; and, again, for the due elevation of women, and for their education; but further—and here the far-seeing ruling spirits ran quite ahead of the times—the abolition of idolatry was a rallying cry in battle; and the abolition of the trade in opium, and of its native production and vicious use was the avowed policy of the T'ai-p'ing, coupled with the doubtless popular cry for the expulsion of the foreign dynasty of the Manchus. The T'ai-p'ing knew that they would win the good-will neither of foreign Powers, at that time so deeply interested in the opium trade, by

the abolition of the trade, nor of the people generally, still lying

> "on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
> Drowsed with the fume of poppies"—

neither could it seem yet to the masses of the people a beneficent and attractive reform to destroy at once and without previous argument and persuasion their idol temples, and so to persecute their idols, that their only refuge was, after precarious rescue from the ruins of the red and yellow walled Buddhist or Taoist temples, to place them in ancestral halls, with black colouring, and so to draw off the T'ai-p'ing iconoclastic search, as no idol surely could ever be found in these ancestral buildings.

And notwithstanding the after history of the Rebellion—the unmitigated curse which it became to China, and its failure in government and in the attainment of its high ideals—it is unjust and unreasonable too, if we withhold any meed of praise to men bold and courageous enough to anticipate the wants of their native land in religion and morality, and in social and economic reform, and, not content with a dream, to awake themselves and strive by very force to awaken the nation and make the dream a reality. The most interesting narrative,* and probably the most reliable, that we possess of the origin and earlier days of the Rebellion, came from the lips of Hung Jên, a cousin of the T'ai-p'ing leader, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, who had personal interviews with a Basel missionary in 1853, and provided him with full details. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan could trace his pedigree back to the

* See *Half a Century in China*, pp. 25–30.

beginning of the twelfth century A.D., when the Emperors Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung were carried captive by the Chin Tartars on their first inroad. Hung Hao, the first-known ancestor of the Hungs, was then minister of state, and showed his loyalty to the throne by endeavouring to follow his Imperial master into the Mongolian wilds. Five hundred years later, after the Mongols had wrested the Imperial power from the Sung dynasty, and the Mongols in turn had been succeeded by the Chinese Ming dynasty, that dynasty, after two hundred and seventy years, was overwhelmed by the conquering Manchus. One of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's ancestors was generalissimo at the time, and led this last campaign of the Ming dynasty. Had Hung Hsiu-ch'üan raised the standard of the Ming in his revolt against the Manchus, and not his own standard and the promise of a new regime, it is more than probable that the uprising would have been popular and acclaimed from the first and everywhere, instead of being dreaded and hated as mere brute force let loose. For it has been for years past the aspiration of the secret societies which honeycomb the land, and the leading object and subject of revolutionary thought, to restore the Ming dynasty. The Triad Society, which offered its fighting aid to the T'ai-p'ing in 1852, put this object definitely forward; but this service was declined by the T'ai-p'ing leader unless they would conform in all things to his rule and dictation.

Yet after their final defeat and suppression in 1864, a large body of them, retiring south-westwards, stood together, and were unmolested from fear by the Imperial

conquerors, and the seeds of revolution and the seeds also of reform were kept alive, manifesting their life from time to time, notably in the "tail-cutting" rumours of 1878-9; and their nurturing and inspiring forces were in all probability behind and beneath the recent and successful insurrection and upheaval.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was born in 1813, in a village thirty miles north-east of Canton. His father was a Hakka (*K'o-chia*), or descendant of settlers from a neighbouring province, and though headman of his village was only a poor husbandman. His son, having shown marked ability, was carefully educated, and distinguished himself in the preliminary examinations; but when qualified for office, a continual bar and ban seemed against him, preventing his promotion; and this produced a marked sense of disappointment with the world, and an almost rabid irritation against the mandarins and the Government generally, to whose favouritism and corruptibility he traced his ill-fortune. In 1836 he met two men in the streets of Canton, one evidently, from Hung's own account, a foreigner, the other in all probability Liang A-fa, a convert of Dr. Milne, and Dr. Morrison's faithful but illiterate helper. Liang presented Hung with Christian tracts and books, which he laid aside unread, till, falling ill for forty days, and seeing visions which he always quoted as the cause and explanation of his great rebellion, he studied these books, and fancied that he traced in them a confirmation of his views. The war of 1840–1842 between England and China, the very thunder of the guns which he must have heard,

awoke in him a sense of the power of these strange foreigners; and the mingled attraction of power and wisdom led him to desire closer contact with the men and their learning.

For a time nobler and higher thoughts controlled him. The province of Kuangsi was at this time in a low state socially and morally. Two centres of worship, the idol Kên-wang and the Temple of Six Caverns, celebrated, deified, and almost worshipped vice; and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, like another Gideon, destroyed these idols. He had already, with the help of one of his friends and one of his first converts, Fêng Yün-san, an earnest, simple-minded man, founded in Kuangsi a Society of the Worshippers of God, denouncing idolatry, renouncing the glory and pleasures of this present world, meeting by night on the "Thistle Mount," without image or incense or outward display, and bending low in worship and prayer before the true Shang Ti, the Lord and Maker of these heavens full of stars soaring over their heads. It is a vision surely of mysterious pathos which rises up before our fancy, stretching back through nearly seventy years. The little band, with their able and courageous leader, became involved soon after in clan fights, without their own initiation, and had to stand on their defence against Imperialist soldiers sent to attack them. They were victorious in this first encounter. The news spread like fire through South China. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, after offering the supreme power to each of his four captains in turn, was compelled himself to lead, and raised the standard of the dynasty of Great Peace

(T'ai-p'ing). He took the title which may be differently rendered as the King of Great Peace, or King of the Heavenly Kingdom, or, as some confusion of dialectic pronunciation gave it, King of Heavenly Virtue. Great crowds now flocked to his banner; defence turned into attack; he became a military leader of conspicuous ability, and a great conqueror, but the scourge and devastator of his native land. What might have happened had he had more careful teaching and wiser and stronger counsellors, and (it must be added) had he possessed a fuller appreciation and application to his conscience of what he did know? The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion might have still become a fact of history, but he would not have led it. He started at length on his terrible career, to end fourteen years later in defeat, despair, and suicide; and we dare not follow in detail that wild story of the "Heavenly Dynasty of Great Peace." In three short years the T'ai-p'ing armies fought and burnt their way through Kuangsi, Hunan ("trodden in dust and ashes"), through Hupei also, and Anhui, Kiangsi, and Kiangsu, up to Nankin, which great city, the ancient southern capital of the empire, they stormed on March 19th, 1853, and occupied for ten years. The fighting line consisted of only from 60,000 to 80,000 trusted combatants, with a mixed multitude, 100,000 strong, of non-combatants—porters, sappers, and artificers. This force was subsequently swollen by multitudes of recruits from the White Lotus and other secret societies; and the accession of these motley crowds, without any religion at all, exercised a

powerful influence in neutralising and eventually obliterating the spiritual elements in the earliest bands which we noticed above. The great conquering horde advanced in 1854, with two columns or streams of war, northwards, and reached a town only seventy miles from Pekin, where they encamped and went into winter quarters; and then, with final victory in sight, the Tartar horsemen, under the great cavalry leader, Sankolinsin, checked their further advance. Returning slowly, and capturing city after city in Chihli, Shantung, Shansi and Honan, the T'ai-p'ing were at length beleaguered in Nankin by Imperialist forces. Though hard pressed and on short rations, and crippled by terrible fights among rival factions within the walls, yet in March, 1860, they broke through the cordon, and in light marching order advanced on Hangchow, stormed and sacked that great city, and after three days of pillage and bloodshed, and the spectacle of the governor of the city hanging himself in despair over one of the city gates—scenes described to the present writer by an eye-witness who himself narrowly escaped death—the T'ai-p'ing evacuated the city, wheeled round, and evaded at some distance the Imperialist host from Nankin lumbering heavily in pursuit. They reached Nankin, swept away by sudden assault the half-defended forts and encampments, and annihilated for the time being the Government's power in that region, 70,000 soldiers laying down their arms and joining the rebel host. Soochow, and a large part of Kiangsu, fell under their sway; and the peril drew near to the

great cosmopolitan port, the commercial metropolis of the whole of the Farthest East, Shanghai. In 1861 two auxiliary armies, one apparently from Soochow and the other from the south-west, invaded the fair province of Chekiang, eager to secure a seaport which they had not possessed before; and desirous also of friendly intercourse with Western powers, a hope which seemed impossible of realisation at Shanghai, which port foreigners with force forbade them to approach.

They captured Ningpo by a brilliant feat of daring assault, witnessed by the writer, were driven out by the English and French, returned in great numbers to avenge their defeat, and after a second repulse they fell back slowly on Hangchow, and after long siege, evacuating that city at night, they swept into Kiangsi and part of Fukien; and then with the treacherous tragedy at Sung-chiang (treachery on the part of the Imperialist commander, which roused the fierce anger of Gordon, his colleague in command, whose word was thus falsified by his "fellow's" false faith), and with the subsequent storming of Nankin, the tempest died down. The rebellion was subdued by very weariness of fighting, and after a long continued aftermath of the harvest of war, and a long moaning call from the wreck-strewn shore after the storm, China lived again. But most surely the great rebellion has not vanished into the past of history, without influence and permanent trace left in the subsequent life of China. The programme of reform promulgated by the T'ai-p'ing leaders fifty years ago has been adopted unconsciously, no doubt, and in

some senses less wisely, first by the Manchus in their closing years of rule, and now by the new Republic. The destruction of idols by the blows of a conquering host is sanctioned now by the more peaceful argument, as the people perhaps regard it (though not always with complacency), of room being wanted for the schoolmaster. And the anti-opium policy, adopted in principle and in affirmation, though not always in practice, by the T'ai-p'ing, has been during the past decade fully endorsed by the Imperial power in China, and now we trust by the Republic; and the conscience of England and of India has been again by miraculous power awakened to follow China's moral lead—only the pace of China's reforming change has proved too fast for conventions and arrangements.

And now, leaving the subject of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, fifty years gone past, and its effect and influence, which may be traced in the rebellion and in the Republic its result, just one year old, we offer a brief survey of this last convulsion in China, its causes and objects, and its problematical future. "Republics are not made out of old monarchies," was one of Napoleon's later sententious sayings. Why was such an experiment tried; and can we designate the cause of the upheaval, and the motives and real objects of those who inspired and led the movement? Have we here another, and perchance the last, occasion of influence from the West or is the whole movement indigenous and independent? It is the ordinary opinion * that the ruin and downfall

* *Recent Events and Present Policies in China*, J. O. P. Bland,

of the Manchu dynasty was hastened at any rate, if not directly caused, by the " fatal error committed by the Empress Dowager Tzŭ-hsi in 1898, when instead of weaving it into her own policy, and making use of the *do ut des* principle of its more patriotic protagonists, she suppressed the reform movement and executed several of its leaders." On the supposition that the object of " Young China " in the Reform movement was honestly reform for the benefit of the country and people, and not revolutionary intrigue, then to reject the sagacious counsels of K'ang Yu-wei and his fellows, and to put them to death, was suicidal murder, and justly execrated by all lovers of justice and enlightenment. Yet this final *dénouement* of the Reform movement, this sudden and scarcely hinted at (by challenge or previous warning) attack on the dynasty, and that in the very vortex of the process of yielding point after point of the people's claims or petitions, on the Regent's part, confirms the suspicion that rebellion and anti-dynastic intrigue were all along the aim of the reformers ; and that the Empress was in possession not of suspicion alone, but of positive information, on this point. So that her compelling the young and promising Emperor, who had eagerly adopted the Reform programme, to cancel his edict of approval, was not a mere act of tyranny, but an act, as she regarded it, of highest regard for the Emperor's safety and her own. It ought in historical justice to be noticed that the establishment of the Republic was signalised by a political murder, or by a politic act of summary justice—call it which you will—at least as

arbitrary and as devoid of previous trial and public investigation as the old Empress's actions. Yüan Shih-k'ai ordered the instant execution of two prominent military leaders at Nankin—an act so startling and so resented by Mid and South China as to threaten for a time the very existence of the Republic, but tacitly acquiesced in by Sun Yat-sen (Sun Wên) when he was confronted with the President. The two incidents must stand or fall together, as justifiable arrest of treason, or as the timid yet tyrannous outcome of suspicion and fear.

It is further worth recording that the supposed tergiversation of Yüan Shih-k'ai himself, at first supporting the Reform movement, and then turning with the Empress against it, may have been not altogether a cowardly act of political forecast, but a loyal act after all, because of his knowledge of anti-dynastic intrigue behind the reform. The Reform party, up to the very birth-time of the Republic, distrusted Yüan, as no genuine friend of reform, and the Regent turned to him (although he had been banished, and under a cloud of Imperial suspicion) as the only strong loyalist who could perchance save the dynasty. His steadiness again in the Boxer days may have arisen from a shrewd perception that the Ko-lao-hui and the I-ho-ch'üan (Boxer Society), posing like most of China's many secret societies, at first as benevolent institutions, good for mutual aid and protection, and then as a patriotic uprising against foreign oppression, were in reality anti-dynastic ; and as a loyal servant of the Crown he would have nothing

to do with them. The Dowager Empress, as astute, and perceiving the imminent danger to the Throne in this anti-foreign and anti-Christian uprising, by a desperate throw sought to out-manœuvre the Boxers by putting herself at their head. Such considerations tend at any rate to a demonstration of the intricacy in which these recent changes in China have been involved. Now revolution is planned and set in motion under the cloak of reform; and again the necessity for reform is pleaded as producing rebellion and revolution. The "old Buddha's" action, however, to use the title of severe and mystic sagacity with which she was credited, does not account for the Reform movement itself. Neither do the causes which accelerated the triumph of the movement, enumerated by Mr. Bland, take us far back enough in the search for origins. The lack of loyal and influential viceroys, after the death of Liu K'un-i, and of Chang Chih-tung, who had so wonderfully held in check the madness of the Government itself in the Central Provinces at the time of the Boxer troubles; the vacillation and obstinacy at times of the Regent; his nepotism in appointing Manchu relations to lucrative posts; his continuance of Tartar garrisons in provincial capital cities; the tribute levies on behalf of Pekin Bannermen, and the sale of rank and title instead of their bestowal as a reward for merit; and finally the seeming failure of the Manchus to prevent foreign aggression—all these may have almost justified, and have accelerated, but they did not originally suggest or set on foot the movement.

XVI.—THE MIRROR-POLISHER

[*To face p.* 406.

We have traced back the programme and beginnings of reform sixty years; but we must go back nearly 900 years to meet with China's first recognised reformer, Wang An-shih, who was born in A.D. 1021. His scheme ranged from a new survey and measurement of land, with taxation graduated by fluctuations or differences in fertility, and obligatory advances from the State to all cultivators of the soil, up to a drastic reform of the examination system—a wide acquaintance with practical subjects counting for more than elegance in style. But like many other great men, he was in advance of his age, and he lived only long enough to see the whole of his policy, which had commanded attention for a while, reversed. The question is now whether modern, and especially quite recent, reform is not rather behind the age as to what is sound and permanent in the changes and reforming growth of the West—whether, that is to say, the would-be reformers of Young China have not seriously overshot the mark in their somewhat hasty and headlong launching of the ship of their reform on what their Western-trained leaders suppose to be the flood-tide of Western wisdom and experience. For that tide has already turned for the ebb in Europe, in America, in India, and in Japan, and there is danger of China being left behind, stranded on shoals and reefs of her own ambition and crude wisdom. This state of things, which we briefly describe below, may be accounted for in a measure when we can fairly estimate the primal sources and causes of the whole movement:

"The Revolution" of which we speak, and "which

began with the revolt of the troops at Wu-ch'ang on October 9th, 1911, issued in February, 1912, in the abdication of the Manchu dynasty, the establishment of a Republic, and the formation of a provisional Republican Government. It may be questioned whether the new form of Government has behind it any strong force of widespread popular conviction, but it signalises the definite entrance of China on the path of material progress and development in accordance with Western ideas."*

The writer of these paragraphs would seem to take it for granted that all wisdom for all the world is involved in "Western ideas." But in sober reality it must be remarked that this is by no means an axiom. And it is a suspicious sign of the possible inadaptability of these ideas and ideals from the West to Eastern soil and Eastern minds, that coincident with this craving for supposed Western wisdom and reform, there is an intense and growing antipathy to Western persons with influence and control of any kind. "History," our authority goes on to say, "furnishes no parallel to changes so radical and so far-reaching, and affecting so many millions of human beings, as those which are now in process in China"; and further, "the forces which gave birth to the Revolution, and which it helped to stimulate, cannot be stayed." Now here again we demur to this dogmatic assertion. It is assumption again; it takes for granted the fact that these forces of Revolution are legitimate, wholesome, pure, and disinterested. If they are of this

* *International Review of Missions*, Vol. II., No. 5, p. 14.

description, who would wish them stayed? If otherwise, why can they not even yet be moderated? And in sober reality, once more, it must be admitted that the forces are part of gold, part of iron, part of clay; strength and weakness; virtue, and mere ambition and sheer love of unrest combined, but not capable in the long run of such combination. We saw traces of these symptoms in the strange early days, only a few months gone by, of the Republic. Conscious of the non-Eastern, and un-Chinese idea of a Republic, and fearing perhaps with not yet wholly eradicated superstitious thought the evil-eye of the long-gone Emperors of the Ming dynasty, whom all China had mourned and longed and waited for during three centuries, and who were now with the Manchus driven from their seats by the Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a professed Christian, and the prime conspirator in insurrection, or rather the prime leader in the successful Revolution, goes to the tombs of the Ming Emperors, and reverentially informs them of his treason, or, according to "Western ideas," of his glorious Revolution.

This is, to our mind, a most disappointing and ominous symptom. To this is added the announcement that "the new Education Bill passed by the National Council eliminates everything pertaining to religion; and the Director of Education has refused to permit the veneration even of Confucius in schools," so as to secure, it would seem, the religious equality of which so loudly, and yet so vaguely, the West is talking—to secure thus for religion equality, not in honour and recog-

nition, but in dishonour and oblivion. Further, the grounds of the Temple of Heaven, and the Temple of Agriculture, and, as we have seen with our own eyes in the closing days of the Manchus, the temple lands adjoining Taoist temples, are to be used as Government experimental farms, although the buildings are to be carefully preserved as national monuments. Finally, the ancient classical literature of the land is entirely omitted in the "Revised course of study for Primary Schools" (issued by the Board of Education, Pekin, September 28, 1912), with the charitable and consoling explanation, however, that "classical selections will be incorporated in readers and books on Ethics"; and the suggestion is made that the very script in which the classics are enshrined is to be superseded by a new and experimental alphabetical script with forty-two letters, and a revolutionised language for the people. With these considerations what good ground is there for optimism in forecasting the future of China? If this last proposal is carried out and at all generally accepted, it will lead to the disintegration of the great language itself, which forms in the ancient script the great welding force for all China. It is impossible indeed, with these facts and considerations before us, to feel sure, as, wishing well to the great land, we should like to feel sure, of the stability of these changes, or to suppress our doubts as to the indigenous origin of the forces which set these changes in motion, and as to the existence of any deep knowledge and experience of what China really needs in reform, which may be guiding

these changes. The motive power, and original source, of those changes which have wrought good in the land, and will, if wisely developed, work more, are not far to seek. The wholesome and legitimate desire for wider knowledge and information, and for literature and learning and science rightly so-called, beyond the yet far horizon of their own country, and of their own history, and their own great treasures of knowledge; and also the claim for the education of girls and women, and the gradual adoption of such education by the Government; —all these can be traced directly to the past sixty years of Christian preaching, and Christian education for girls as well as for boys. Christian literature also has had much to do with the loosing of these forces. Besides the wide circulation of translations of the Bible revised and re-revised, there has been a broadening stream of Christian and general literature—translation or composition—in almost every department of useful knowledge. The S.P.C.K., in connection with this enterprise, has lately made a grant of £600 for the production of such literature. The first instalment is in the hands of the Bishops, who have appointed a competent agent to prepare statistics of books projected or in the course of preparation and suitable for publication in China.

Here, then, the reforming forces set in action have had a healthy and reliably energetic origin; and the acknowledgment of China's debt to Mission teachers and philanthropists from the West is made now officially, and in earnest language, by the President of the Republic himself, and results in the removal of all disabilities which have

hampered and oppressed Christians and the Christian name for many years, notwithstanding the original Treaties of toleration and approval. But this thirst for knowledge and for wider education, and this recognition and adoption of the best of Western scientific discoveries and appliances, notably in medical science, do not represent all the forces let loose, which seem, we are told, for good or for harm, irrepressible; and here, if we mistake not, we can trace less irreproachable motives and forces than those just alluded to.

Is it the Chinese *Bushidō*, the Chinese *Swadeshi*, which is uplifting the nation? Patriotism seems to those who have known China longest a principle, if indigenous at all, yet surely long dormant. It may have been there—at any rate a marvellous genius of cohesion as of one nation has long existed, and of blind and far off, but genuine, loyalty to one Imperial central power. But its exhibition now seems like the effect of a sudden electric shock, or a succession of such shocks, and those from outside; not like the uplifting influence of a deep-rooted natural and national principle. Why should the President of the Republic, himself called in by the tottering Imperial dynasty to save its fortunes, and for a time loyally attempting the desperate task, elevated at last, and partly by the self-effacing patriotism of Sun Yat-sen, to the President's chair, congratulate China on her deliverance from the Imperial tyranny of ages, and her passing into the great freedom of Republican life? This is not the voice of Chinese patriotism, but the dictation and suggesting voice of Western

teachers, and of not always wholesome Western influence. Any Chinaman patriotic in a high sense, and proud of his country's great past, knows well that Imperial rule is not a synonym for tyranny; and any Chinese student of foreign history knows that a Republic is not the sole panacea for a nation's woes of unrest or unjust rule. And here we touch the source of some of these energies of reform and revolution and change in the old unchanging China—namely, the intriguing and assertive, and in many cases really and justly influential, body of students and restless spirits who have for several years past resided and studied in the United States and in England. There they were made much of, and rightly so, distinguishing themselves in many cases at the Universities, in the arts, in medicine, and applied science; and then, proud of their new attainments, and feeling it a duty to be ashamed of the so-called crude and partial enlightenment of the ancient polity and wisdom of their native land, they think patriotism best exhibited by denationalising China, by clothing her in the spangled dress of their Western patrons and admirers, and by eradicating, not reforming and enriching, the old. They give no time to the enquiry: Will the clothing suit and fit our native frame? And in great haste they take with them, and offer or impose upon China the ripest fruits, as they suppose, of Western reform and enlightenment, which are, in reality, rejected and discarded, as unwholesome and in decay, by the truest and deepest thinkers in East and West.

The West is to blame here. Why do we exhibit to

the world, and teach to the world, our doubts as wiser than our faith, our delirium of statesmanship as better than the ripe and sound wisdom of institutions tried and tested, but ever capable of sound and conservative reform ? Young China thinks a school and a college not the right place for the teaching of religion. She recommends even Mission schools to confine themselves to secular and intellectual instruction. The two sole aims in education are, we are told, knowledge and character. Why is this wholly retrograde and unenlightened policy enjoined by Republican China (a policy which, if enjoined universally in education, with the probable threat of non-recognition if they decline to conform, may wholly ruin Christian schools)—enjoined, too, while India cries out for religious education, and when Japan has discovered that secular education is a dangerous mistake ? Why, but that these young keen leaders of modern China have learned, they believe, that the foremost thinkers in the West think thus—that religion is a mere matter of opinion, of inclination, of choice, and that not only are all religions to be treated in an eirenic attitude as all aiming at a similar object, but further (and this is to meet the scruples and half persuasions of the professed Christians who are high in authority and rank in the new Republic) that China cannot give her whole sanction to the Christian religion (though she may be persuaded that it stands first, and is ready to patronise and smile on it) for the reason that, from the differences and dissensions amongst Christians, it is hard to tell what Christianity is ? For in the forma-

tion of the Church of China which some of them propose to establish, failing to see in Western Christianity Christ's own model of a united Church, they think us all probably mistaken, as we have noticed above, and carry their patriotism so far as to select and compose a new Church of their own, at the risk of renewing the dismal story of the past, in new Chinese false doctrine, heresies, and schisms. It seems like an unconscious imitation of the iconoclastic zeal of the T'ai-p'ing, that Republican mandarins are forbidding idolatrous processions in the cities and country, and threaten to burn the idols if they appear in the procession. The T'ai-p'ing, however, had they subdued China to their sway and dynasty, would apparently have gone further than abolishing the idols, and rooting out by force false religions—they would have established (still by force) the worship of the true God. The same mistake is seen on either side, the attempt to secure by violence and compulsion that which should come by conviction and persuasion. But the Republic seems to be in danger of committing the graver error. The T'ai-p'ing proposed a substitute for the discarded faith, knowing that no nation and no individual can live worthy lives without a religion. And they proposed to offer to the Chinese the great Divine Classic as the supreme guide and rule of Faith; not discarding the old classics and literature of the land, but placing the Bible as guide and ruler. The Republic dismisses the Canonical Confucian Classics as not fully in accordance with Republican principles, and its officers ridicule and "starve all the gods of the heathen," but

again, not as inconsistent with the supreme authority of the Word of God, and with the worship of the Supreme Shang Ti, but as inconsistent only with modern enlightenment and science, and from the dangerous dogma that education and religion must be kept distinct for the Republican emancipated thinker. The fear may be chimerical, but it looks ominously like the attempt to establish agnosticism and a gentle atheism by law, with the vain hope that, by these negative processes, characters will be formed and knowledge increased. Already the note of warning is uttered in some quarters by China's own moralists and observers, that the standard of morality is being lowered in society. We may further ask, with reference to political changes, why Yüan Shih-k'ai's first recommendation and proposal was set aside—namely, that the dynasty, or at any rate the Imperial power, should be maintained and continued, only with the democratic changes already yielded in principle, and partly in reality, by the Manchus, of a constitution, a parliament, with provincial assemblies, a first and second chamber of commons and great lords, and the Sovereign supreme, but assisted thus and guided in his rule by the views of his faithful lieges in council, and they thus expressing the voice of the people? This would have maintained the great attractive and rallying power, so omnipotent in Japanese *Bushidō*, and so potent in Chinese history, the central Imperial person and control; while not conceding too much, perhaps, to the new theories of modern patriotism in Church and State, where individual rule is rated as

nobler than corporate service, and freedom and licence are deemed more manly and womanly than the nobler order of all creation's subordination and obedience, for the moral good of all. It was strange that at this moment the English Constitution, which had specially commended itself to China's patriots, should have been passing through so critical a period of its history.

Meanwhile the attitude of the vast masses of the people generally has settled down, after temporary excitement and eager expectancy of something new, into a dull and neutral attitude of observation, and in many cases of disappointment. If their mandarins can be so adequately paid as to forbid all excuse for bribery and corruption in their courts of justice; if the price of rice can be regulated, and be prevented from arbitrary and sudden and violent fluctuations; if flood and fire can be forfended by some practical method; if remunerative employment and fair trade be guaranteed so far as liberty and right permit; and if China, by a well-disciplined and well-paid army and navy, can be protected, not only from foreign aggression but from internal disorder and violence—patriotism, articulate and enthusiastic, for Republic, Ming, or Manchu, will probably relapse into restful slumber.*

Those who know China best and longest admit their inability to foretell with any certainty her future. A

* As these pages pass through the press, civil war has broken out afresh along the Yangtse Valley, the southerners chafing against Yüan's too Imperial Republicanism. Among symptoms that some check is to be placed on headlong change may be noted the quite recent restoration of the worship of Confucius in the schools and colleges.

pessimistic feeling predominates amongst such observers and judges; but many of her older friends in the West and East, who have watched her battling with graver problems and sterner difficulties than those which now beset her path, entertain more hopeful views. China has a marvellous power of recuperation, as well as of cohesion. Is she at this moment in financial difficulties? She manages nevertheless to keep the State going without money; and meanwhile her credit is high, and her commercial integrity, if not so notable as in the past, is still hardly impaired.

If she can secure wiser and more far-seeing exponents and teachers of what is really beneficial in Western reforms, and in Western wisdom

> ("Knowledge is proud that she has learned so much; Wisdom is humble that she knows no more,")

and still welcome, with full independence from foreign control in Church and State, Western teachers and instructors, sound in faith and doctrine, and scholarly in the broadest and deepest sense in science and philosophy and polity, then, with God's blessing, China may yet owe thanks and not execration to that which has formed our chief subject in this chapter—foreign relationship and Western influence.

It is probable that the hopes of China's present rulers for the consolidation of the Republic, the maintenance of the integrity of its domains, and the developement of its industries and commerce, will depend on the attitude and action of Japan. It constitutes almost an act of homage to the supreme position of influence and power

which that Empire has won, that the overtures for such an *entente*, actually in progress while we write, should come from China, once in her own belief the suzerain power of all the world, and, if not the sovereign land, then the hereditary foe of Japan. And Japan is not allowed to content herself with the distinction of having electrified the whole of the great East with the aims and theories of nationalism and patriotism; she must have the further dignity and responsibility, "under the gift of Providence" (to quote the sentiments of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in addressing himself to the rulers and thinkers of Japan), "of the guardianship of the peace of the Far East." Japan lies, strong, alert and watchful, between the Republic of the West and whatever of possible aggression or assertive influence is implied by the dream of the transformation of the Pacific into an American lake, on the one side, and the infant Republic, the survival of the most ancient Empire of the world, on the other side, with her population and fighting power, if once awakened, eightfold that of her neighbour; and over great China she maintains, and is asked to maintain, a calming and sobering and constructive influence. Northwards again she stands as a barrier, so long as she can be sure of China's disinterested friendship, between China and the great expansive and restless progress of Russia, beaten back for China's integrity so recently, and now by an *entente* with Japan, restrained, it would seem, for the mutual benefit of the three powers concerned. It is perfectly true that far-seeing Japanese statesmen must know

that the friendship of China, if she is strong, will be indispensable to Japan. But this does not diminish the significance and the practical interest of Japan's present position, neither does it fail to emphasise the far-seeing wisdom of Lord Salisbury's policy in consolidating the English alliance with Japan, as the surest guarantee for the peace of the Far East, and the avoidance of Western complications which would be sure to arise from the Far East at war. "The differences between the Chinese and the Japanese," so runs the present contention, "are so infinitesimal as to be negligible; Japan and China have the same mutual interests, and China is dependent on Japan more than on any other nation for the assistance she requires," as described above, "for consolidation, territorial integrity, and developement of industries and commerce." We seem to be watching the latest swing of the pendulum—the alternating influence of East on West, and West on East; and now the West-awakened and quickened East is not only re-acting on the West; the Far Eastern Japan is also swaying and steadying the Far Eastern China—and possibly Japan may exercise beneficial influence of the highest value, in warning China from her own experience against the too hasty adoption of the cruder elements in Western civilisation and knowledge. Notably in the department of education and reform, Japan can assure China that uprooting is not so wise as the pruning and cleansing of reformation; and that religion in its highest form and energy, and not mere intellectual enlightenment of knowledge, is the foundation-stone and the top-stone of all true wisdom.

In the Spring of this year tidings reached us from China of strange significance, filled, we could fain hope, with portents of good—but just possibly portents of more sinister results. The news of the assembling and opening of China's first parliament, and of the impending election of an actual and not a mere provisional president, and of the absence of that dissension between south and north which had been anticipated; all this, which seemed to discredit the pessimistic views as to China's future which have been held by so many, was yet overshadowed, or rather outshone, by the tidings of the appeal issued by the Chinese Government to all Christian communities in China to pray unitedly on Rogation Sunday, April 27, for the land, its rulers, and its destinies. Chinese officials were instructed to attend the churches, some 5,000 probably in number, on that prayer day; not, one would believe, for surveillance, but rather to exhibit the sympathy and official co-operation of the Government—a striking object-lesson, by the by, to Christendom of what the relations between Church and State may rightly be, the State not controlling the Church's spiritualities, or establishing her foundations, but, while she conserves the legal rights of the Church, thankfully looking to the Church to establish her by prayer and by the co-operation of Christian work and example. We quote here, in full, paragraphs from the *Morning Post* of April 18, 1913, which give a useful summary of these remarkable events; and of the views of some influential and official Chinese as to the origin and probable outcome of this startling religious change in

the unchanging East. The change thus figured may be said to have electrified not China alone and to have brought her in a sense to her knees—it has shaken all Christendom, and we all were on our knees in prayer for China on China's Day of Prayer.

The paragraphs in question were as follows :

"CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

"With reference to the appeal issued by the Chinese Cabinet for the prayers of the Christian Churches on behalf of the Republican Government, Reuter's Agency learns that this has not come as a surprise to Chinese official circles in London. During the last six years Christianity has made enormous strides in China, more especially among the official and influential classes. Even during the last year or two of the Imperial régime Government officials were no longer rigorously bound not to adopt the new religion. Technically, they were forbidden to do so, but their conversion was openly winked at. The Revolution introduced complete toleration. Many of the leaders were Christians themselves, and their accession to power gave an enormous impetus to the spread of the faith. 'The majority of intellectual Chinese incline to-day either towards Christianity or Free-thought,' said a prominent official. 'Many members of the newly-elected National Assembly, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, are Christians, and there is every indication that Christianity will spread still more rapidly when the new Government has got its educational and social projects into working order. I do not think the day is so far distant as many

people imagine when China will be numbered among the Christian nations of the world. A comparison might be drawn between the China of to-day and the Roman Empire of the time of Constantine. In both cases Christianity started among the poor and spread to the official classes. There is a strong resemblance also between the attitudes of the Roman and Chinese Governments. This appeal for the prayers of a new and growing community is typical of Roman tolerance towards all creeds. The non-Christian Chinese official takes the same view as the Roman proconsul—that such prayers can do no harm and may do good, in addition to securing the support of a powerful section of the people. But the conviction is gaining ground that if Christianity is to become a vital factor in Chinese national life it must be free from foreign control, for it has always been against the Christian as a foreigner, and not as the upholder of a new creed, that Chinese resentment has been raised in the past. There is a vigorous movement on foot for the formation of a Chinese Free Church, Protestant in character and free from the control of European bishops and missionaries. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the present Minister in Berlin are both ardent supporters of this movement, which is gaining ground steadily.'"

It will be observed that this "prominent Chinese official" is naturally enough oblivious of the fact that Christianity, as a divine and supernatural faith, and conquering and subduing all creation to God, not by might nor by power, but by the Eternal Spirit of God, has

reason to dread patronising popularity, more than persecution and opposition; and we must add to our prayers for China's prosperity the petition that conviction and faith, not policy and prescience, may guide official and national acceptance of Christianity. The authority quoted above is, naturally again, unaware that what China will need and should aim at is not so much what is called " a Chinese Free Church," but a Chinese Church independent of foreign ministrations and control indeed, but not independent of the command of the Church's Head —union. Not a new church, not a new conception of the one faith, not one more just Eastern or Western school will benefit China, but the granting freedom of union with the Church Catholic, in the faith and order once delivered to the saints.

A TABLE OF THE DYNASTIES WHICH HAVE RULED IN CHINA.*

	B.C.
Yao	2357 (2145)†
Shun	2255 (2042)
HSIA	2205 (1989)
YIN (or SHANG)	1766 (1558)
CHOU**	1122 (1050)
Hsüan Wang	827 ‡
CH'IN	255
Shih Huang-ti	221
Hsi HAN (or Ch'ien HAN)	206
	A.D.
Wang Mang (usurper)	9
Tung HAN (or Hou HAN)	25
Shu HAN§	221
Hsi CHIN	265
Tung CHIN	317
Ch'ien SUNG	420
Nan CH'I	479
Nan LIANG	502
CH'ÊN	557
SUI	590

* This table is taken from Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques*, Tom. I., Introduction, App. III., and especially from the late P. Hoang, *Concordance des Chronologies Néoméniques Chinoise et Européenne*. Names of Emperors are printed in Italics. Words in small Roman letters are, if prefixed, descriptive terms not invariably used.

† The dates in brackets are those of the *Chu-shu-chi-nien*, which differ from the accepted chronology of the *T'ung-chien-kang-mu* up to the year 827.

** The HSIA, YIN, and CHOU together are called SAN TAI.

‡ From about this time the chronology is believed to be quite reliable.

§ This is the chief of the three smaller dynasties which were known as SAN KUO or the Three Kingdoms.

	A.D.
T'ang *	618
Hou Liang	907
Hou T'ang	923
Hou Chin	926
Hou Han	947
Hou Chou †	951
Pei Sung	960
Nan Sung	1127
Yüan	1280
Ming	1368
Ch'ing ‡	1644
Min Kuo (Republic)	12 Feb., 1912

* The Empress *Wu Hou*, who reigned from 684 to 704, called the dynasty Chou from 690 to 704.

† The above five brief dynasties are classed together as Wu Tai, and each of them may have Wu Tai substituted for Hou in its title.

‡ P. Hoang gives also a list of partial dynasties—fifteen in number. Several of these are principal dynasties reigning over a part only of the Empire before they had won or after they had lost the rule of the whole. The most important of these partial dynasties were the Pei Wei (T'o-pa Tartars), 398–534; the Liao (Tartars), 947–1125; the Chin (Tartars, or Khitai), 1122-1234; and the Yüan (Mongols), 1206–1279, continuing as a principal dynasty till 1368. From T'o-pa possibly and from Khitai (Cathay) certainly were derived the names by which China as a whole was known in central Asia during successive periods.

A LIST OF THE PROVINCES OF CHINA.

Province.	Capital.
ANHUI	An-ch'ing.
CHEKIANG (Chê-chiang)	Hang-chou.
CHIHLI	Pao-ting.
FUKIEN (Fu-chien)	Foochow (Fu-chou).
HONAN	K'ai-fêng.
HUNAN	Ch'ang-sha.
HUPEI†	Wu-ch'ang.
KANSU	Lan-chou.
KIANGSI (Chiang-hsi)	Nan-ch'ang.
KIANGSU (Chiang-su)	Soochow (Su-chou).
KUANGSI (Kuang-hsi)	Nan-ning.
KUANGTUNG	Canton (Kuang-chou).
KUEICHOU	Kuei-yang.
SHANSI (Shan-hsi)	T'ai-yüan.
SHANTUNG	Chi-nan.
SHENSI (Shan-hsi)	Hsi-an.
SSŬCH'UAN	Ch'êng-tu.
YÜNNAN	Yün-nan.
HSIKANG (?)*	Batang (Pa-an) (?).
AMUR (Hei-lung-chiang)	Tsitsikar (or Pu-k'uei)
HSINCHIANG	Urumtsi (Ti-hua).
KIRIN (Chi-lin)	Kirin (Chi-lin).
SHENGCHING	Mukden (Fêng-t'ien).

† Hunan and Hupei together are called Hu-kuang.

* Formed out of Western Ssŭch'uan and Eastern Tibet in the Autumn of 1912.

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* It is probably not necessary to point out that the following lists of books contain hardly a hundredth part of those which might claim to be included. It is with great regret that several whole subjects which are now being treated by specialists (as, for example, Numismatics by Morse and Ramsden) are excluded, and that very little of the valuable results of the various scientific missions led by Stein, d'Ollone, Chavannes or Pelliot, now in course of publication, is included.

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CHINESE READING

THE study of Chinese ought to mean, above all, the acquisition, with the help of the natives or of a teacher, of ability to speak; but it ought also to include the study of the written language and of the principal monuments of Chinese literature. I do not here refer to the scientific work to which the learned would devote themselves, but simply to such practice in reading as would be useful to those who are obliged to live among the Chinese, and wish not to appear in their eyes as quite uneducated, and would like, therefore, to be in a position to understand a newspaper article, an official document, or a piece of modern composition. This, then, is the curriculum, as I should conceive it, of such reading exercises—choosing the most attractive possible subjects. It must not be forgotten that if many Chinese works seem to repel us by the deliberate dryness of their style, others are pleasant to read, and of such interest as to make it possible to make real progress in the language without any painful effort.

I advise the student to begin with one of those books of primary instruction of which a great number have appeared in recent years—since the general changes in the national methods of education and in the public examinations. I may mention, amongst others, the *Tsui hsin kuo wên chiao k'o shu* (*Chinese National*

Readers, with illustrations ; Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1905). This work, in large print, well punctuated, and formed of regularly graduated selections, will be read through easily. The meaning of the unfamiliar words will be looked for in the *New Dictionary* (all in Chinese) or *Hsin Tzŭ-tien* (Shanghai, 1912), which is planned on the principles of European dictionaries. The explanations in this dictionary may often suggest points of interest. Another lesson-book which may be used is *Ch'êng chung Mêng-hsüeh-t'ang tzŭ k'o t'u shuo*, a collection of Chinese words, illustrated, with notes in which the traditional ideas of the Orient are found side by side with those of modern science.

The reading of Chinese newspapers, whether in the colloquial or in the written language, will be undertaken almost at the same time. One should try to read a quantity of the contents of the papers without stopping long over the difficulties which will be met with in them. These difficulties may arise indeed from misprints, or from rhetorical figures, or from peculiar or local expressions, which it is impossible for a beginner to understand without the help of a teacher.

Official gazettes, collections of Government documents, or political publications, such as the works of statesmen like Lin Tsê-hsü, Tsêng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-t'ang, Li Hung-chang, or Chang Chih-tung, are easy to get in the bookshops, and their study will allow one to grow familiar with the style of public business. The subjects treated of in such books (often questions concerning the relations of China with foreign powers) are

of a sort to interest a European reader, and their style is rarely rendered difficult by the ornaments of rhetoric.

Chinese novels will form a recreation, and will teach many a detail of the modes of expression in different classes of society, and give insight into the mind and manners of the nation. Among those which are particularly easy to read may be mentioned *Fên chuang lou* or *Hai-kung ta hung p'ao*. Historical novels like *San kuo chih*, *Shui hu*, or *Sui T'ang yen i* will make the reader familiar with the epochs of the past which are well known to every Chinaman. Nearly akin to these are the collections of fairy tales, *Chin ku ch'i kuan* and *Liao chai*.

It will be well to read some books of travel or diaries (*Jih chi*) written by celebrated men or famous travellers. For example, those by Hsüeh Fu-ch'êng (*The Diary of a Mission to England, France, Italy, and Belgium*), or by Kuo Sung-tao (*Records of travel on a Mission to the West*).

In every town in China will be found some *Chih shu*, or official topographies of the province, or department, or district—compilations about the geography, history, products, and literary or archæological monuments of the region in question. The study of these works, which are often very voluminous, will have special attractions for persons living in the places with which they deal; and the various sections of which they are composed will form an introduction to the different styles—geographical, historical, and so forth. If the foreign student is able, in the place where he lives, to get access to the

great series of the official dynastic histories called *Erh-shih-ssŭ shih*, or *Twenty-four Histories*, he will do well to familiarise himself with their arrangement, and to read certain parts of them—especially, in the *Lieh chuan*, the biographies of famous men.

The student ought to procure one of the Chinese manuals of letter-writing, called *Ch'ih-tu*, to give himself an idea of the peculiar rhythm used in private or ceremonial correspondence. The composition of such letters involves a large number of literary or poetic allusions which the reader will need to have explained to him. And in the same course of studies—making use also at times of the help of a native scholar—he will find an undeniable charm in the reading and translation of pieces of poetry, and in particular of those of the T'ang period—*T'ang shih.*

If I have not yet mentioned the canonical books (*Ching*) or the four classical books (*Ssŭ Shu*), it is not because I do not recognise their importance. On the contrary, these books form the very foundation of the national teaching and education of the Chinese, and are quoted incessantly in their literature. But words and expressions are very frequently met with in them to which special meanings are attached, which differ from those of current modern usage—meanings which are fixed with a greater or less degree of certainty by the commentaries. A European will find it best not to attack these texts, where the style is often conventional, directly, but to study them, simultaneously with any other reading, in a translation such as Legge's, following

at the same time the Chinese text, the English version, and the notes. The collection called *The thirteen canonical books, with notes and comments* (*Shih san ching chu su*), will provide the original text of the principal commentaries, and their examination will not be without either exegetical or linguistic advantage.

A. VISSIÈRE.

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KUKU NOR
KANSU
SHENSI
SHANSI
CHIHLI
HUANG HAI OR YELLOW SEA
SEA OF JAPAN
KOREA
HONAN
HUPEI
SZECHUEN
KUEI CHOU
YUNNAN
KUANGSI
KUANGTUNG
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